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Ben Jonson

TIMBER

OR

DISCOVERIES

MADE UPON MEN AND MATTER

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

FELIX E. SCHELLING

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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TO

THE MEMORY OF

MY TEACHER, COLLEAGUE, AND FRIEND

JOHN GEORGE REPPLIER McELROY

PREFACE.

THE *Discoveries* of Ben Jonson deserve attention for two reasons: as one of the best examples of later Elizabethan prose, and as one of the earliest conscious efforts at simple literary presentment. A higher claim is to be found in the sound sense, discriminating judgment, and lofty moral sentiment with which the work is pervaded, and in the inexplicable and inexcusable neglect that has suffered so rare an English classic to remain practically inedited, and, until quite recently, all but unknown. The memory of the man has been long since reclaimed from ignorant and perverse detraction, and his literary achievements acknowledged to be surpassed alone by the master who has surpassed all; but there remains yet somewhat to a complete knowledge of "one of the noblest, manliest, most honest and most helpful natures that ever dignified and glorified a powerful intelligence and an admirable genius." (Swinburne, *A Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 130.)

Although the evident disorder of many parts of the *Discoveries* suggests and courts rearrangement, I have preferred to follow the original order throughout, and to depart as little as possible from the readings of the edition of 1641. It was found necessary to use greater freedom with the punctuation. Variants from the folio in Whalley, Gifford,

Colonel Cunningham's edition and Professor Morley's, will be found under the notes, together with emendations of Mr. Swinburne and others.

While as many references as possible have been verified, the notes of the present edition do not pretend to have exhausted the allusions with which the text is literally bristling. If any apology be deemed necessary, I can but urge the words of so capable and scholarly a critic as William Gifford (*Works of Jonson*, ed. Cunningham, ii. p. 51): "The variety and extent of Jonson's reading are altogether surprising; nothing seems to have been too poor and trifling, too recondite and profound, for his insatiable curiosity and thirst for knowledge. It is but seldom, and even then accidentally, that I can fall in with him: the general range of his wide and desultory track is to me nearly imperceptible."

It gives me much pleasure to record my obligations to the courtesy and the scholarship of Dr. Horace Howard Furness of Philadelphia, Professor Albert S. Cook of Yale University, Mr. Charlton T. Lewis of New York, Dr. Paul Shorey of Bryn Mawr College, Mr. William R. Thayer of Concord, Mass., and Mr. Joseph Jacobs, of London, England. Nor is my indebtedness less to my colleagues, Dr. Oswald Seidensticker, Professor William A. Lamberton, Dr. Morton W. Easton, Dr. Hermann V. Hilprecht, Dr. Morris Jastrow, Jr., and Dr. William Romaine Newbold.

F. E. S.

PHILADELPHIA, December, 1891.

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INTRODUCTION.

1. Sketch of the Life of Ben Jonson.

(*Compiled chiefly from his Conversations with Drummond, Symond's Life, and Ward's English Dramatic Literature.*)

Ben Jonson was born in the year 1573. He came of a border family of Anandale, and was the posthumous son of a minister who had "losed all his estate under Queen Marie, having been cast into prison and forfeited." (*Conversations with Drummond.*) His widow marrying again, Jonson was "brought up poorly," but "put to school" at Westminster, and there befriended by the learned antiquary Camden. Fuller states that from Westminster Jonson went to [St. John's College] Cambridge. If so, he remained but a short time; for he afterwards told Drummond that "he was Master of Arts in both Universities by their favor, not his study." The trade of his step-father, that of a bricklayer, proving distasteful, Jonson enlisted as a soldier, and relates that, "in his service in the Low Countries," he had, "in the face of both the camps, killed an enemy and taken *opima spolia* from him." It seems likely that Jonson was again in England in 1592, and married while yet under age. He told Drummond that "his wife was a shrew, yet honest." He had several children by her, none of whom survived him.

The beginning of Jonson's career as a dramatist cannot be fixed with certainty; but the advances of money made to him by Philip Henslow, the manager and stage-broker, in 1597, prove that he was a recognized playwright by that

time, doing 'prentice-work, according to the custom of his age, in the reconstruction and adaptation of earlier plays. The pleasing tradition that Jonson owed his introduction to a dramatic career to the good offices of Shakespeare is not susceptible of proof; although his first dramatic success, *Every Man in his Humor*, was acted in 1598 by the Lord Chamberlain's Servants, Shakespeare's company, and Shakespeare was himself an actor in it. The notion that Jonson and Shakespeare lived in a state of rivalry and enmity is based upon no evidence worthy of a moment's consideration. (See the notes, especially 23 9 and 23 28.)

In this year Jonson had the misfortune to kill a fellow-actor, in a duel, for which he was tried at Old Bailey, convicted on his own confession, and, pleading his clergy, escaped capital punishment with a brand upon the thumb of his left hand and forfeit of goods and chattels. While in prison he became converted to the Roman Church, and remained of that faith for twelve years. The duel severed his connection with Henslow and drew him into writing for Shakespeare's rival company.

In 1599 Queen Elizabeth witnessed Jonson's next play, *Every Man out of his Humor*, the first of the series of dramatic satires, which were soon to involve their author in internecine warfare with his fellow-craftsmen. During the next three years Jonson was a leading combatant in what is known as "The War of the Theatres," *Cynthia's Revels* giving the affront, the *Poetaster*, Marston and Dekker's *Satiromastix*, and many other plays continuing the battle. Notwithstanding Jonson's "aggressive and egotistic personality," and the gall and venom of both parties, it may be doubted if the terrors of these literary frays were such as the historians of literature would have us believe. At all events the collaboration of Dekker and Jonson in the pageants attending the accession of James, and the fervent dedication of Marston's *Malcontent* to Jonson in 1604, preclude the possibility of

our believing these enmities to have been either very deep or very lasting.

Sejanus, Jonson's first tragedy, was produced at the Globe Theatre in 1603, Shakespeare again taking a part; but it was not well received. In consequence Jonson turned his attention to a different species of the drama, and, the festivities attending the progress of the new king offering a splendid field for his talents, began with the *The Satyre* in 1603, that series of stately Masques and Entertainments which alone would be sufficient to render his name remarkable in the history of our literature. He soon gained the royal favor, and with it the patronage of many noble houses; and for years the most notable courtly entertainments and civic feasts were enriched with "the poetry and learning of Master Ben Jonson and the invention and architecture of Master Inigo Jones."

In 1605 Chapman and Marston were imprisoned for certain passages of the comedy, *Eastward Ho!* which an irritable courtier conceived to be derogatory to the Scotch; and Jonson, who had a hand in the play but not in the offensive passages, "voluntarily imprisoned himself" with them. But both Chapman and Jonson had influence at Court and the playwrights were soon at liberty. Jonson continued for years to furnish entertainments for the Court, and appears to have accompanied many of the royal progresses. In 1616 the Laureateship, with a pension of one hundred marks a year, was conferred upon him; this with his fees and retainers from several noble patrons, and the small earnings of his plays, formed the bulk of his income. Two years later the king granted him the reversion of the office of Master of the Revels, but Jonson did not live to enjoy its perquisites. It is even said that at one time Jonson narrowly escaped the honor of knighthood, which King James was wont to lavish with indiscriminate hand.

Volpone was produced in 1605; *The Silent Woman*, in

1609, and *The Alchemist* followed in the succeeding year. These masterly comedies met with unqualified success, as did *Bartholomew Fair* in 1614. A less degree of popular approbation awaited his second tragedy, *Catiline*, which was produced in 1611. This group of plays represents Jonson at the height of his dramatic power.

From 1616 to 1625 Jonson produced nothing for the stage, although still not infrequently engaged in the composition of courtly entertainments. During this period of prosperity he was enabled to continue the prosecution of those studies which have made him memorable as one of the greatest scholars of a scholarly age, and to collect his rich and varied library, afterwards unhappily destroyed by fire. He told Drummond that "the Earl of Pembroke sent him £20 every first day of the new year to buy new books." With another patron, Lord d'Aubigny, he lived for a period of five years. Jonson accompanied the eldest son of Sir Walter Raleigh to Paris as his tutor in 1613, and told Drummond that he had written certain parts of Sir Walter's *History of the World* for him (see notes 30 34). Later, in 1618, Jonson set out on foot for Scotland, and spent some time with the Scotch poet, William Drummond, at Hawthornden, the latter's country-seat. In the words of Professor Ward: "His [Jonson's] moral like his physical nature was cast in a generously ample mould; he spoke his mind freely in praise and blame; uttered his opinion of men and books in round terms; and probably never gave a second thought to his sayings after they had flowed as copiously as the canary which had removed the last barrier of self-restraint. Talk such as this will not always bear analysis; and when Drummond, after Ben Jonson's departure, summarized his impressions of his guest in a note of his own — not of course intended for the public eye — it does not follow that he was in a fit mood for the purpose."

Courtly patronage failed Jonson towards the close of the

reign of James, and in 1625 he had recourse once more to the stage. While the sweeping assertion of Dryden that these later plays are "Jonson's dotages" is unfair, their inferiority to the work of his better days is as marked as it is deplorable. But there were many compensations yet left to the veteran of letters. None of the great English literary dictators enjoyed a rule more absolute than that of Ben Jonson, whether in the earlier days of the Mermaid, where, in the words of Herrick:

> We such clusters had
> As made us nobly wild, not mad;
> And yet each verse of thine
> Outdid the meat, outdid the frolic wine;

or in the later times of the Apollo room of the Devil Tavern. Nor was this homage confined to "the billowy realms of Bohemia." To use the words of Professor Ward once more: "Contemporary literature of every description — from Clarendon to Milton, and from Milton to Herrick — abounds with testimonies together proving his position to have been unrivalled among the men of letters of his times; and on his death a crowd of poets hastened to pay their tributes of acknowledgment to one who seems to have been loved more than he was feared, and to have left behind him a gap which it was felt must remain unfilled."

Unhappily, poverty, disease, and increasing years were now aggravated by renewed petty squabbles, especially with Inigo Jones, who used his influence at Court unworthily to prevent the employment of his unhappy rival. In 1628, on the death of Thomas Middleton, Jonson obtained the post of Chronologer to the City of London, and in the ensuing year King Charles renewed his father's patronage of the old laureate with a gift of £100, and an increase of Jonson's standing salary. Now much of his time bedridden, the old poet became dependent on the liberality of noble patrons,

and yet the friendship of many of the greatest and noblest men of his day, and the adoration of a younger generation "sealed of the tribe of Ben," must have gone far towards brightening even these darkening days. Ben Jonson died August 6, 1635, and although a projected monument failed of erection in the midst of the political tension that was rapidly hurrying the nation to civil war, all must agree that "no time will efface the brief but sufficient legend

'O rare Ben Jonson.'"

2. Publication and Date of Composition.

Ben Jonson's *Explorata, Timber or Discoveries* was published posthumously in 1641, filling the last forty-seven pages of the second volume of the folio edition of 1640. Since Dr. Brinsley Nicholson's examination and collation of the folio editions of Jonson (see *Notes and Queries*, Fourth Series, vol. v. p. 573), we may dismiss the supposition of Lowndes that a third folio edition was printed, bearing date 1641, as well as his affirmation of the existence of a second volume of the first folio of 1616. It was not until the reprint of 1640 that a second volume, containing the *Discoveries* and other pieces variously dated, appeared. Gifford supposed that this volume was printed from manuscripts surreptitiously obtained (ed. Cunningham, iii. p. 277); but Dr. Nicholson has shown conclusively, and for reasons which space will not permit me to set forth here, that at least two of the plays contained in this volume had received touches from the hand of the author, and that "as to the pieces dated 1640 and 1641, some of the smaller poems are from the author's revised copies, while the same pieces in the quarto and duodecimo non-surreptitious editions of 1640 are from earlier drafts."

The separate title of the *Discoveries* bears no imprint beyond the words, "London, printed M.DC.XLI." The

pagination runs continuously through *Horace, his Arte of Poetrie*, pp. 1–29, *The English Grammar*, pp. 31–84, and the *Discoveries*, pp. 85–132; while each of the former separate titles displays the imprint, "Printed M.DC.XL." Dr. Nicholson, however, informs us that the general title of the second volume bears the imprint of R. Meighan, 1640, who was not the publisher of the other volume of the second folio. The exemplar, the property of the present editor, contains no such general title; and it would seem from Gifford's note, referred to above, that his copy exhibited a like defect. Dr. Nicholson assures us that whatever the other variants, all the copies of the *Discoveries* bears the date of 1641.

In view of the corrupt state of portions of the text, the evident disorder of many of the notes, and the ignorant misplacement and repetition of marginal references, it is clear that the work could never have been intended, by so careful an author as Jonson, for publication in its present form. And yet, considering the age and its posthumous appearance, the condition of the text of the folio is far from justifying the brilliant strictures of Mr. Swinburne. The truth seems that editors of Jonson have generally wearied of their task before reaching the later products of their author's brain; and, while most of the mistakes of the folio have been reproduced with sedulous fidelity, not a few new errors have crept into the text through carelessness or unnecessary zeal in emendation.

As appears from the title, the *Discoveries* is a "species of commonplace book of aphorisms flowing out of the poet's daily reading." But it would be far from just to regard this as all. For every note is stamped with the powerful individuality of the writer, so that even the reflected thoughts of others have become wholly Jonson's own; while the care with which the notes have been penned, and the painstaking attention to matters of style and expression, entitle Jonson

here as elsewhere to challenge the first place of his age as a master of vigorous, idiomatic English prose. There is internal evidence, too, pointing to an intent to publish, in the words: "I had not told posterity this but for their ignorance, who choose that circumstance to commend their friend by wherein he most faulted" (*De Shakespeare nostrati*, 23 14–16), to which may possibly be added the several passages susceptible of an autobiographical interpretation (18 8–19 2, 31 28–32 3, 43 24–44 23, etc.)

The date of the composition of the *Discoveries* cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy; and it is highly probable, from the nature of the work, that it was written from time to time through a series of years. One piece of external evidence we have in a letter of James Howell to Jonson, dated June 27, 1629, and containing a series of quotations on the madness of poets, nearly all of which are to be found in a passage of the *Discoveries* (see 75 24–76 8, and the notes thereon, in which Howell's letter is quoted). Unfortunately for this bit of evidence, the letter mentions *The Magnetic Lady* as a finished work, and that play was not acted until 1632. It is unlikely that Jonson kept the finished manuscript of his play in his desk three years before performance, and still more improbable that Howell should write thus familiarly of a play as yet untried. Moreover, Anthony à Wood declares (*Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. 1817, iii. col. 746) that "many of the said letters were never written before their author was in the Fleet [1642], as he pretends they were, only feigned (no time being kept with the dates), and purposely published to gain money to relieve his necessities." Hence, while it is quite possible that Howell sent such a letter to Jonson, the date can prove nothing as to the composition of Jonson's note, if indeed the evidence of Anthony à Wood does not raise a presumption of direct borrowing on the part of Howell from Jonson's already published *Discoveries*.

A few parallel passages between the *Discoveries* and other works of Jonson may be found, as the statement "that poets are far rarer births than kings" (*Disc.* 76 12, *Epigram*, 79, and the Epilogue to *New Inn*), or the allusion to the passage of *Julius Cæsar* (*Disc.* 23 27, and the Induction to *The Staple of Newes*); but such points prove little, and need not be pressed. The two or three parallels between the *Discoveries* and works of contemporary authors (Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, 31 13, 66 12, 17; Selden's *Table Talk*, 73 3) are of about equal uncertainty. Several allusions to contemporary persons and events are somewhat more fruitful. The disgrace of Lord Bacon in 1621 was assuredly prior to the writing of the note (31 28–32 3); whilst that concerning his eloquence (30 10–21) — unless the literality of the translation from Seneca mislead — must have been written subsequent to the chancellor's death in 1626. The allusions to Taylor, the Water Poet (22 9 and 14), amount to nothing, as Taylor continued the production of his booklets long after the death of Jonson; that to Heath's *Epigrams* (22 8) is more definite, unless reminiscent, as Heath does not appear to have written subsequent to 1620. These allusions lead to 1620 or 1621, as the earliest possible date assignable to the composition of any of the notes constituting the *Discoveries;* while the date, 1630, contained in the note on Archy Armstrong (13 18), the reminiscent character of Jonson's remarks on Bacon, Shakespeare, and others, the adaptation of Seneca's words on the failure of his memory to Jonson himself (18 12–29) and his frequent bitterness of spirit (11 18–29, 21 16 *seqq.*, 43 24–44 23), all point to a still later period as the probable date of composition. It is likely that little violence will be done to the truth in assigning the composition of the *Discoveries* to the last years of the poet's life.

3. Literary Influences.

The nature of this work is not such as to warrant the treatment of so extended a topic as the learning of Ben Jonson. We must therefore be content with a brief consideration of the literary influences discernible in the *Discoveries*. In view of the restoration of some scores of passages to their respective owners — for which the reader is referred to the notes — it is to be hoped that the *Discoveries* may thenceforth be regarded in a very different light from a production of original English prose. As Whalley said long ago (ed. Jonson, vii. p. 71), and as the title of the work imports, "Many of the following passages are imitations or observations made upon the authors of Jonson's daily reading"; and I may add that quite as many are literal quotations, Jonson's own merely in the sense that he has translated them, and applied their very words to the changed conditions of his time. It is notable that to this latter class belong several of the passages most commonly quoted as autobiographical or reminiscent of the poet's contemporaries (*e.g.* 18 10–29, 28 17 *seqq.*, and the notes thereon), and not a few which have been enthusiastically admired as Jonson's by those imperfectly conversant with their originals. See especially the passage of Euripides, translated at 4 15, and highly extolled by Mr. Swinburne in his *Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 131; and the discussion of the advantages of a public over a private education at 53 21 *seqq.*, a literal transcript of a well-known passage of Quintilian, equally exalted as Jonson's with the lavish panegyric of which the same critic is so consummate a master (*ibid.* p. 167–168, and my note on 54 16), and pronounced by Professor Ward "very English in spirit" (*English Dramatic Literature*, i. p. 542, note 2).

In reading the *Discoveries*, it is not difficult to discern the influences under which a given series of notes was written. Now the author was reading the elder Seneca, and

the reminiscent character of the *proœmia* to the several books of his *Controversies* led Jonson into an application of the rhetorician's words to himself (18 8–29, 28 17–29 3), to the eloquence of Lord Bacon (30 10–21), or to his recollection of Shakespeare (23 22–24). A diligent study of the *Institutes* of Quintilian and the *Poetics* of Aristotle inspires respectively the essays on style and poetry. In another place we find traces of Plutarch running through several pages, dipping into the various topics of the *Morals*, gleaning an anecdote here and there from the *Lives*, and diverted through similarity of subject-matter into other allusions. The more usual Greek and Latin classics are of course pervading; and quotations from the writings of Petronius Arbiter, Varro, Aulus Gellius, Vitruvius, and the collections of Stobæus are sufficient to prove the range and the diversity of Jonson's classical reading. Of the moderns he has made no less use; and we find frequent reference or familiar allusion to the commentaries and original works of the famous scholars of the classical Renaissance, such as the Scaligers, Erasmus, Vives, Lipsius, Heinsius, and others. Elsewhere a consideration of the attributes of princes brings into discussion tenets of Macchiavelli, and involves the citation of several passages of *The Prince* (see pp. 37–39 *passim*); whilst other notes are the result of a recent study of the essay *On the Advancement of Learning* or other parts of the *Instauratio Magna*. (For references to these several authors, see the Index and Notes.)

Thus we find the *Discoveries*, like all the other productions of this veritable Titan, attesting Jonson's unparalleled reading and that audacious power with which he has appropriated the literary spoils of all ages to his royal will and disposal, holding a reckless course beneath a burden of learning that must have overpowered a less than colossal frame. In the words of Mr. Symonds (*Ben Jonson, English Worthies*, p. 52): "This wholesale and indiscriminate trans-

lation is managed with admirable freedom. He held the prose writers and poets of antiquity in solution in his spacious memory. He did not need to dovetail or weld his borrowings into one another, but rather, having fused them in his own mind, poured them plastically forth into the mould of thought."

In a case like the present we should guard against applying our own conditions to a consideration of the past. In the essay on style (see 77 14) Jonson speaks of an ability "to convert the substance or riches of another poet to his own use" as "a requisite in our poet" only second to "natural wit" and the exercise of his powers. And Dryden shows his appreciation of this theory, as well as of its practice, in the words: "The greatest man of the last age, Ben Jonson, . . . was not only a professed imitator of Horace, but a learned plagiary of all the others; you track him everywhere in their snow. . . . But he has done his robberies so openly that one may see he fears not to be taxed by any law. He invades authors like a monarch, and what would be theft in other poets is only victory in him" (*An Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, Arber's *English Garner*, iii. pp. 551 and 519). Plagiarism has been well termed "an invention of the nineteenth century," and, in view of the extended borrowings of Shakespeare and other lesser Elizabethans, may properly be considered a crime little recognized as such to that age. Jonson was consistent in theory and practice, and believed a great thought to be always his who expresses it best. As to Jonson's power in this respect, we may agree with the judicious Fuller when he says: "What was ore in others he was able to refine unto him" (*Worthies of England*, ed. 1840, ii. p. 425).

Finally, whatever may be said of Jonson's other works, in that under consideration the very title disarms criticism in this particular. "*Silva*, timber, the raw material of facts and thoughts," are the author's words; and such is the

humble relation which he would have the *Discoveries* bear to the *Forest* and *Underwoods* of his works.

4. Style.

The *Discoveries* "come in character as in time midway between Hooker and Dryden, and they incline rather to the more than to the less modern form" (Saintsbury, *History of Elizabethan Literature*, p. 219). Two things explain this position. Jonson's vocabulary is somewhat more antiquated than that of most of his contemporaries, and the conservatism of increasing years only added to that of constitution. "Words borrowed of antiquity," he writes, "do lend a kind of majesty to style, and are not without their delight sometimes; for they have the authority of years and out of their intermission do win themselves a kind of grace like newness" (61 14–18). A comparison of the vocabulary of Sir Philip Sidney's *Defense of Poesie* with that of the *Discoveries*, written nearly sixty years later, will disclose a far larger number of words demanding explanation in the latter. On the other hand, a like comparison between the two works with reference to the structure of sentence and paragraph will exhibit a form and symmetry, a sense of order and proportion, and a consciousness of the demands of literary presentment in the *Discoveries* for which we may look in vain in the somwhat loosely-strung periods and formless paragraphs of the *Defense*. This contrast becomes the more startling when we remember that Sidney's work is characterized by a logical sequence and continuity of thought often wanting in the disjointed entries of the *Discoveries*.

The chief traits of Jonson's prose are force, condensity and directness. The first often rises to genuine eloquence and displays in its reserve and union with grace a truly classic dignity. (See the well-known passage on the eloquence of

Bacon, 30 7–21; 17 8–13, 33 6–22 and many others.) Jonson's condensity and directness are pervading, and achieved largely by a prevailing shortness and crispness in the construction of sentence, and an omission of qualifiers and connectives wherever the sense permits.

"Brevity is attained in matter by avoiding idle complements, prefaces, protestations, parentheses, superfluous circuit of figures and digressions: in the composition, by omitting conjunctions . . . and such like idle particles, that have no great business in a serious letter but breaking of sentences, as oftentimes a short journey is made long by unnecessary baits" (70 4–12). As an example of the application of these principles, read the passage *on Counsel* (3 18–4 4) which Mr. Swinburne describes as possessed of "too strong a flavor of the style of Tacitus in its elaborate if not laborious terseness of expression" (*Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 131); and notice Jonson's further expression of his theory on this subject: "Periods are beautiful when they are not too long" (62 31). Elsewhere he commends "a strict and succinct style . . . where you can take away nothing without loss, and that loss to be manifest" (*ibid.* 19–21).

Jonson is rarely obscure; and involved or confused constructions are totally foreign to the constitution of a mind by nature clear, precise and painful in its attention to detail. Such occasional obscurities as do occur are almost invariably traceable to excessive condensity, as: "In the Greek poets, as also in Plautus, we shall see the economy and disposition of poems better observed than in Terence and the later [Greek poets] who thought" etc. (57 35–58 5); or to Latin influence as: "Creatures . . . that continually labor under their own misery and *other's envy*," *i.e.* the envy which they feel towards others. (47 15, and see 36 7). Other instances of Latinism are, the variation between the infinitive and imperative, 54 25–28; "he denied figures to be invented" 28 35; etc.: a comparison of the passages translated from

Quintilian and Seneca will disclose many other examples. Barring the use of several words in their Latin sense, as: *opinion*, reputation (6 3), *discipline*, learning (7 3), *copy*, abundance (26 32), *voice*, remark, saying (37 17), *delicate*, chosen (44 22), *election*, selection (56 18), *translations*, metaphors (60 25), *to concoct*, to digest (77 20), and *offices*, duties or obligations (78 26), many of them common to the age; occasional forms like *umbractical* (16 25), *indagations* (28 11), or *digladiation* (66 35); and the still rarer coining of a word like *recession* (50 19); Jonson's vocabulary is remarkably English for a scholar of his day.

Jonson considered that "some words are to be culled out for ornament and color," but they had better grow in our style as in a meadow," etc. (61 31; see also on this topic 62 2, 63 16–32 and 63 33–64 14). His practice is entirely consistent with this, and it would be difficult to find a writer of equal vigor so sparing in the use of figures. In the *Discoveries* Jonson shows a prevailing preference for simile over metaphor, and elaborated comparisons like that of the world to a play (36 22 *seqq.*), or even the apt figure of the evil man riding coated and booted through the dirty ways of the world (43 19–24) are rare. (See, however, 65 19 *seqq.*) He often caps a semi-humorous passage with an implied or expressed comparison that amounts almost to the force of the like trick of Swift or Carlyle; thus counsellors that advise a prince to be cruel are called "hangmen's factors" (39 6), and the depth of certain writers, which you may find "with your middle finger" is "cream-bowl — or but puddle-deep" (25 13).

Again, Jonson rarely indulges in hyperbole; unless we can grant that term, in a somewhat extended sense, to those passages in which he becomes impassioned through bitterness of feeling (21 16–31 and 43 24 *seqq.*), or through power and brilliancy of satire and invective: see especially the essay on *Parasites* (51 10 *seqq.*). This latter quality is

to be expected of Jonson, whose method in his dramas and in his *Conversations*, as reported by Drummond, was "to color highly but not falsely," and to present the subject in hand, so to speak, somewhat heightened into an abnormal *alto-rilievo* by seeing too far on each side.

Jonson has succeeded in avoiding several faults peculiar to his age. He almost totally eschews compound words, and it may be doubted if any of his own coinage can be found in the *Discoveries*. (An exception must be made in the burlesque word noted above, 25 13.) Moreover, Jonson has kept the vocabulary of poetry as well as the use of poetic figures and measured cadence well apart from his prose; although I believe that Mr. Swinburne has discovered an exception to this last in the fine line on nature at 7 12:

"Men are decayed, and studies: she is not."

Neither excessive balance nor undue antithesis mar the flow of Jonson's style. There are passages, however, in which attention to this particular is apparent; as: "When a virtuous man is raised, it brings gladness to his friends, grief to his enemies, and glory to his posterity. . . . He is grown to active men an example, to the slothful a spur, to the envious a punishment" (42 20–25). The practise of wanton alliteration too is not among his faults, though rare instances occur in which he has fallen into that "species of indefensible Ciceronianism" which delights in playing on the sounds of words (*e.g.* 46 12, 13 and 69 24).

For a closer consideration of the prose style of Jonson the reader must be referred to the following pages, and especially to the essay *on Style* (52 26–72 4), in which, while culling much from the writings of Quintilian, Cicero and Horace, Jonson has laid down the rules of his own practise with a remarkable degree of success. "The more I study his writings," says Coleridge, in words as applicable to his prose as to his verse, "the more I admire them; and the more my

study of him resembles that of an ancient classic in the *minutiæ* of his rhythm, metre, choice of words, forms of connection and so forth, the more numerous have the points of my admiration become" (*Notes on Ben Jonson*, Works of S. T. Coleridge, American ed. 1884, iv. p. 186). A comparison of the prose of Jonson with the style of his various classical authorities as indicated in the notes, or with the prose of contemporaries such as Selden or Sir Thomas Overbury, would be attended with fruitful results, and might establish beyond the peradventure of a doubt that the conscious cultivation of English prose style began to be practised at least a generation before Abraham Cowley and John Dryden.

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TIMBER:

OR,

DISCOVERIES

MADE UPON MEN AND MATTER, AS THEY HAVE FLOWED OUT OF HIS DAILY READINGS; OR HAD THEIR REFLUX TO HIS PECULIAR NOTIONS OF THE TIMES,

BY

BEN JONSON.

Tecum habita, ut noris quam sit tibi curta supellex.
— PERSIUS, Satire iv, 52.

SYLVA

Rerum et sententiarum quasi "Υλη *dicta a multiplici materia et varietate in iis contenta. Quemadmodum enim vulgo solemus infinitam arborum nascentium indiscriminatim multitudinem* Sylvam *dicere: ita etiam libros suos in quibus variæ et diversæ materiæ opuscula temere congesta erant,* Sylvas *appellabant antiqui:* Timber-trees.

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EXPLORATA:

OR,

DISCOVERIES.

Fortuna. — Ill fortune never crushed that man whom good fortune deceived not. I therefore have counselled my friends never to trust to her fairer side, though she seemed to make peace with them; but to place all things she gave them so, as she might ask them again without their trouble; she might take them from them, not pull them: to keep always a distance between her and themselves. He knows not his own strength that hath not met adversity. Heaven prepares good men with crosses; but no ill can happen to a good man. Contraries are not mixed. Yet that which happens to any man may to every man. But it is in his reason, what he accounts it and will make it.

Casus. — Change into extremity is very frequent and easy. As when a beggar suddenly grows rich, he commonly becomes a prodigal; for, to obscure his former obscurity, he puts on riot and excess.

Consilia. — No man is so foolish but may give another good counsel sometimes; and no man is so wise but may

easily err, if he will take no others' counsel but his own. But very few men are wise by their own counsel, or learned by their own teaching. For he that was only taught by himself had a fool to his master.

Fama. — A fame that is wounded to the world would be better cured by another's apology than its own: for few can apply medicines well themselves. Besides, the man that is once hated, both his good and his evil deeds oppress him: he is not easily emergent.

Negotia. — In great affairs it is a work of difficulty to please all. And oft times we lose the occasion of carrying a business well and thoroughly by our too much haste. For passions are spiritual rebels, and raise sedition against the understanding.

Amor patriæ. — There is a necessity all men should love their country: he that professeth the contrary may be delighted with his words, but his heart is there.

Ingenia. — Natures that are hardened to evil you shall sooner break than make straight; they are like poles that are crooked and dry, there is no attempting them.

Applausus. — We praise the things we hear with much more willingness than those we see, because we envy the present and reverence the past; thinking ourselves instructed by the one, and overlaid by the other.

Opinio. — Opinion is a light, vain, crude, and imperfect thing; settled in the imagination, but never arriving at the understanding, there to obtain the tincture of reason. We labor with it more than truth. There is much more holds us than presseth us. An ill fact is one thing, an ill fortune is another; yet both oftentimes sway us alike, by the error of our thinking.

Impostura. — Many men believe not themselves what they would persuade others; and less do the things which they would impose on others; but least of all know what they themselves most confidently boast. C

they set the sign of the cross over their outer doors, and sacrifice to their gut and their groin in their inner closets.

Jactura vitæ. — What a deal of cold business doth a man misspend the better part of life in! in scattering compliments, tendering visits, gathering and venting news, following feasts and plays, making a little winter-love in a dark corner.

Hypocrita. — *Puritanus Hypocrita est Hæreticus, quem opinio propriæ perspicaciæ, qua sibi videtur, cum paucis, in Ecclesia dogmatibus errores quosdam animadvertisse, de statu mentis deturbavit: unde sacro furore percitus, phrenetice pugnat contra magistratus, sic ratus obedientiam præstare Deo.*

Mutua auxilia. — Learning needs rest; sovereignty gives it. Sovereignty needs counsel: learning affords it. There is such a consociation of offices between the prince and whom his favor breeds, that they may help to sustain his power as he their knowledge. It is the greatest part of his liberality, his favor; and from whom doth he hear discipline more willingly, or the arts discoursed more gladly, than from those whom his own bounty and benefits have made able and faithful?

Cognit[io] universi. — In being able to counsel others, a man must be furnished with a universal store in himself, to the knowledge of all nature — that is, the matter and seed-plot: there are the seats of all argument and invention. But especially you must be cunning in the nature of man: there is the variety of things which are as the elements and letters, which his art and wisdom must rank and order to the present occasion. For we see not all letters in single words, nor all places in particular discourses. That cause seldom happens wherein a man will use all arguments.

Consiliarii adjunct[*i*], *probitas, sapientia.* — The two chief things that give a man reputation in counsel are the opinion of his honesty and the opinion of his wisdom: the authority of those two will persuade when the same counsels uttered by other persons less qualified are of no efficacy or working.

Vita recta. — Wisdom without honesty is mere craft and cozenage. And therefore the reputation of honesty must first be gotten, which cannot be but by living well. A good life is a main argument.

Obsequentia, humanitas, solicitudo. — Next a good life, to beget love in the persons we counsel, by dissembling our knowledge of ability in ourselves, and avoiding all suspicion of arrogance, ascribing all to their instruction, as an ambassador to his master, or a subject to his sovereign; seasoning all with humanity and sweetness, only expressing care and solicitude. And not to counsel rashly, or on the sudden, but with advice and meditation. *Dat nox consilium.* For many foolish things fall from wise men, if they speak in haste or be extemporal. It therefore behoves the giver of counsel to be circumspect; especially to beware of those with whom he is not thoroughly acquainted, lest any spice of rashness, folly, or self-love appear, which will be marked by new persons and men of experience in affairs.

Modestia, parrhesia. — And to the prince, or his superior, to behave himself modestly and with respect. Yet free from flattery or empire. Not with insolence or precept; but as the prince were already furnished with the parts he should have, especially in affairs of state. For in other things they will more easily suffer themselves to be taught or reprehended: they will not willingly contend, but hear, with Alexander, the answer the musician gave him: *Absit, o rex, ut tu melius hæc scias, quam ego.*

Perspicuitas, elegantia. — A man should so deliver himself to the nature of the subject whereof he speaks, that his hearer may take knowledge of his discipline with some delight; and so apparel fair and good matter, that the studious of elegancy be not defrauded; redeem arts from their rough and braky seats, where they lay hid and overgrown with thorns, to a pure, open and flowery light, where they may take the eye and be taken by the hand.

Natura non effœta. — I cannot think Nature is so spent and decayed that she can bring forth nothing worth her former years. She is always the same, like herself; and when she collects her strength is abler still. Men are decayed, and studies: she is not.

Non nimium credendum antiquitati. — I know nothing can conduce more to letters than to examine the writings of the ancients, and not to rest in their sole authority, or take all upon trust from them, provided the plagues of judging and pronouncing against them be away; such as are envy, bitterness, precipitation, impudence, and scurrile scoffing. For to all the observations of the ancients we have our own experience, which if we will use and apply, we have better means to pronounce. It is true they opened the gates, and made the way that went before us, but as guides, not commanders: *Non domini nostri, sed duces fuere.* Truth lies open to all; it is no man's several. *Patet omnibus veritas; nondum est occupata. Multum ex illa, etiam futuris relictum est.*

Dissentire licet, sed cum ratione. — If in some things I dissent from others, whose wit, industry, diligence, and judgment, I look up at and admire, let me not therefore hear presently of ingratitude and rashness. For I thank those that have taught me, and will ever; but yet dare not think the scope of their labor and inquiry was to envy their posterity what they also could add and find out. If I err, pardon me: *Nulla ars simul et inventa est et*

absoluta. I do not desire to be equal to those that went before; but to have my reason examined with theirs, and so much faith to be given them, or me, as those shall evict. I am neither author nor fautor of any sect. I will have no man addict himself to me; but if I have anything right, defend it as Truth's, not mine, save as it conduceth to a common good. It profits not me to have any man fence or fight for me, to flourish, or take a side. Stand for truth, and 'tis enough: *Non mihi cedendum, sed veritate.*

Scientiæ liberales non vulgi sunt. — Arts that respect the mind were ever reputed nobler than those that serve the body, though we less can be without them, as tillage, spinning, weaving, building, etc., without which we could scarce sustain life a day. But these were the works of every hand; the other of the brain only, and those the most generous and exalted wits and spirits, that cannot rest or acquiesce. The mind of man is still fed with labor: *Opere pascitur.*

There is a more secret cause, and the power of liberal studies lies more hid than that it can be wrought out by profane wits. It is not every man's way to hit. There are men, I confess, that set the caract and value upon things as they love them; but science is not every man's mistress. It is as great a spite to be praised in the wrong place, and by a wrong person, as can be done to a noble nature.

Honesta ambitio. — If divers men seek fame or honor by divers ways, so both be honest, neither is to be blamed; but they that seek immortality are not only worthy of love, but of praise.

Maritus improbus. — He hath a delicate wife, a fair fortune, a family to go to be welcome; yet he had rather be drunk with mine host and the fiddlers of such a town, than go home.

Afflictio pia magistra. — Affliction teacheth a wicked person sometime to pray: prosperity never.

Deploratis facilis descensus Averni. — Many might go to heaven with half the labor they go to hell, if they would venture their industry the right way; but "The devil take all!" quoth he that was choked in the mill-dam, with his four last words in his mouth.

Ægidius cursu superat. — A cripple in the way outtravels a footman or a post out of the way.

Prodigo nummi nauci. — Bags of money to a prodigal person are the same that cherry-stones are with some boys, and so thrown away.

Munda et sordida. — A woman, the more curious she is about her face is commonly the more careless about her house.

Debitum deploratum. — Of this spilt water there is a little to be gathered up: it is a desperate debt.

Latro sesquipedalis. — The thief that had a longing at the gallows to commit one robbery more before he was hanged. And like the German lord, when he went out of Newgate into the cart, took order to have his arms set up in his last herborough: said he was taken and committed upon suspicion of treason, no witness appearing against him; but the judges entertained him most civilly, discoursed with him, offered him the courtesy of the rack; but he confessed, etc.

Calumniæ fructus. — I am beholden to calumny, that she hath so endeavored and taken pains to belie me. It shall make me set a surer guard on myself, and keep a better watch upon my actions.

A tedious person is one a man would leap a steeple from, gallop down any steep hill to avoid him; forsake his meat, sleep, nature itself, with all her benefits, to shun him. A mere impertinent; one that touched neither heaven nor earth in his discourse. He opened

an entry into a fair room, but shut it again presently. I spake to him of garlic, he answered asparagus; consulted him of marriage, he tells me of hanging, as if they went by one and the same destiny.

Bellum scribentium. — What a sight it is to see writers committed together by the ears for ceremonies, syllables, points, colons, commas, hyphens, and the like, fighting as for their fires and their altars; and angry that none are frighted at their noises and loud brayings under their asses' skins. There is hope of getting a fortune without digging in these quarries. *Sed meliore in omne ingenio animoque quam fortuna sum usus.*

Pingue solum lassat; sed juvat ipse labor.

Differentia inter doctos et sciolos. — Wits made out their several expeditions then for the discovery of truth, to find out great and profitable knowledges; had their several instruments for the disquisition of arts. Now there are certain *scioli* or smatterers that are busy in the skirts and outsides of learning, and have scarce anything of solid literature to commend them. They may have some edging or trimming of a scholar, a welt or so; but it is no more.

Impostorum fucus. — Imposture is a specious thing, yet never worse than when it feigns to be best, and to none discovered sooner than the simplest. For truth and goodness are plain and open; but imposture is ever ashamed of the light.

Icuncularum motio. — A puppet-play must be shadowed and seen in the dark; for draw the curtain, *et sordet gesticulatio.*

Principes et administri. — There is a great difference in the understanding of some princes, as in the quality of their ministers about them. Some would dress their masters in gold, pearl, and all true jewels of majesty;

others furnish them with feathers, bells, and ribbons, and are therefore esteemed the fitter servants. But they are ever good men that must make good the times; if the men be naught, the times will be such. *Finis exspectandus est in unoquoque hominum; animali ad mutationem promptissimo.*

Scitum Hispanicum. — It is a quick saying with the Spaniards, *Artes inter hæredes non dividi.* Yet these have inherited their fathers' lying, and they brag of it. He is a narrow-minded man that affects a triumph in any glorious study; but to triumph in a lie, and a lie themselves have forged, is frontless. Folly often goes beyond her bounds; but impudence knows none.

Non nova res livor. — Envy is no new thing, nor was it born only in our times. The ages past have brought it forth, and the coming ages will. So long as there are men fit for it, *quorum odium virtute relicta placet*, it will never be wanting. It is a barbarous envy, to take from those men's virtues which, because thou canst not arrive at, thou impotently despairest to imitate. Is it a crime in me that I know that which others had not yet known but from me? or that I am the author of many things which never would have come in thy thought but that I taught them? It is a new but a foolish way you have found out, that whom you cannot equal or come near in doing, you would destroy or ruin with evil speaking; as if you had bound both your wits and natures prentices to slander, and then came forth the best artificers when you could form the foulest calumnies.

Nil gratius protervo lib[*ro*]. — Indeed nothing is of more credit or request now than a petulant paper, or scoffing verses; and it is but convenient to the times and manners we live with, to have then the worst writings and studies flourish when the best begin to be despised. Ill

arts begin where good end. The time was when men would learn and study good things, not envy those that had them. Then men were had in price for learning; now letters only make men vile. *Jam literæ sordent.* He is upbraidingly called a poet, as if it were a most contemptible nick-name: but the professors, indeed, have made the learning cheap — railing and tinkling rimers, whose writings the vulgar more greedily read, as being taken with the scurrility and petulancy of such wits. He shall not have a reader now unless he jeer and lie. *Pastus hodier[ni]ingen[ii].* It is the food of men's natures; the diet of the times; gallants cannot sleep else. The writer must lie and the gentle reader rests happy to hear the worthiest works misinterpreted, the clearest actions obscured, the innocentest life traduced: and in such a licence of lying, a field so fruitful of slanders, how can there be matter wanting to his laughter? Hence comes the epidemical infection; for how can they escape the contagion of the writings, whom the virulency of the calumnies hath not staved off from reading?

Nothing doth more invite a greedy reader than an unlooked-for subject. And what more unlooked-for than to see a person of an unblamed life made ridiculous or odious by the artifice of lying? *Sed seculi morbus.* But it is the disease of the age; and no wonder if the world, growing old, begin to be infirm: old age itself is a disease. It is long since the sick world began to dote and talk idly: would she had but doted still! but her dotage is now broke forth into a madness, and become a mere frenzy.

Alastoris malitia. — This Alastor, who hath left nothing unsearched or unassailed by his impudent and licentious lying in his aguish writings (for he was in his cold quaking fit all the while), what hath he done more than a troublesome base cur? barked and made a noise afar off;

had a fool or two to spit in his mouth, and cherish him with a musty bone? But they are rather enemies of my fame than me, these barkers.

Mali Choragi fuere.— It is an art to have so much judgment as to apparel a lie well, to give it a good dressing; that though the nakedness would show deformed and odious, the suiting of it might draw their readers. Some love any strumpet, be she never so shoplike or meretricious, in good clothes. But these, nature could not have formed them better to destroy their own testimony and to overthrow their calumny.

Hear-say news.— That an elephant, [in 1]630, came hither ambassador from the Great Mogul, who could both write and read, and was every day allowed twelve cast of bread, twenty quarts of Canary sack, besides nuts and almonds the citizens' wives sent him. That he had a Spanish boy to his interpreter, and his chief negociation was to confer or practise with Archy, the principal fool of state, about stealing hence Windsor Castle and carrying it away on his back if he can.

Lingua sapientis, potius quam loquentis optanda. — A wise tongue should not be licentious and wandering; but moved and, as it were, governed with certain reins from the heart and bottom of the breast: and it was excellently said of that philosopher, that there was a wall or parapet of teeth set in our mouth, to restrain the petulancy of our words; that the rashness of talking should not only be retarded by the guard and watch of our heart, but be fenced in and defended by certain strengths placed in the mouth itself, and within the lips. But you shall see some so abound with words, without any seasoning or taste of matter, in so profound a security, as while they are speaking, for the most part they confess to speak they know not what.

Of the two — if either were to be wished — I would rather have a plain downright wisdom, than a foolish and affected eloquence. For what is so furious and Bedlam like as a vain sound of chosen and excellent words, without any subject of sentence or science mixed?

Whom the disease of talking still once possesseth, he can never hold his peace. Nay, rather than he will not discourse he will hire men to hear him. And so heard, not hearkened unto, he comes off most times like a mountebank, that when he hath praised his medicines, finds none will take them, or trust him. He is like Homer's Thersites *ἀμετροεπής, ἀκριτόμυθος*, speaking without judgment or measure. *Loquax magis, quam facundus; satis loquentiæ, sapientiæ parum.*

> Γλώσσης τοι θησαυρὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστος
> Φειδωλῆς, πλείστη δὲ χάρις κατὰ μέτρον ἰούσης.
> Optimus est homini linguæ thesaurus, et ingens
> Gratia, quæ parcis mensurat singula verbis.

Ulysses, in Homer, is made a long-thinking man before he speaks; and Epaminondas is celebrated by Spintharus to be a man that, though he knew much, yet he spoke but little. Demaratus, when on the bench he was long silent and said nothing, one asking him if it were folly in him, or want of language, he answered, "A fool could never hold his peace." For too much talking is ever the index of a fool.

> Dum tacet indoctus, poterit cordatus haberi;
> Is morbos animi namque tacendo tegit.

Nor is that worthy speech of Zeno the philosopher to be passed over without the note of ignorance; who being invited to a feast in Athens, where a great prince's ambassadors were entertained, and was the only person had said nothing at the table; one of them with courtesy asked him: "What shall we return from thee, Zeno, to

the prince our master, if he ask us of thee?" "Nothing," he replied, "more, but that you found an old man in Athens that knew to be silent amongst his cups." It was near a miracle to see an old man silent, since talking is the disease of age; but amongst cups makes it fully a wonder.

Argute dictum. — It was wittily said upon one that was taken for a great and grave man so long as he held his peace: "This man might have been a counsellor of state, till he spoke; but having spoken, not the beadle of the ward." Ἐχεμνθία. *Pythag*[*ora*] *quam laudabilis!* γλώσσης πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων κράτει, θεοῖς ἑπόμενος. *Linguam cohibe, præ aliis omnibus, ad deorum exemplum. Digito compesce labellum.*

Acutius cernuntur vitia quam virtutes. — There is almost no man but he sees clearlier and sharper the vices in a speaker, than the virtues. And there are many, that with more ease will find fault with what is spoken foolishly than can give allowance to that wherein you are wise silently. The treasure of a fool is always in his tongue, said the witty comic poet; and it appears not in anything more than in that nation, whereof one, when he had got the inheritance of an unlucky old grange, would needs sell it; and to draw buyers proclaimed the virtues of it. "Nothing ever thrived on it," saith he. "No owner of it ever died in his bed; some hung, some drowned themselves; some were banished, some starved; the trees were all blasted; the swine died of the measles, the cattle of the murrain, the sheep of the rot; they that stood were ragged, bare, and bald as your hand; nothing was ever reared there, not a duckling, or a goose." *Hospitium fuerat calamitatis.* Was not this man like to sell it?

Vulgi expectatio. — Expectation of the vulgar is more drawn and held with newness than goodness; we see it

in fencers, in players, in poets, in preachers, in all where fame promiseth anything; so it be new, though never so naught and depraved, they run to it, and are taken. Which shews, that the only decay or hurt of the best men's reputation with the people is, their wits have outlived the people's palates. They have been too much or too long a feast.

Claritas patriæ. — Greatness of name in the father oft-times helps not forth, but overwhelms the son; they stand too near one another. The shadow kills the growth: so much, that we see the grandchild come more and oftener to be heir of the first, than doth the second: he dies between; the possession is the third's.

Eloquentia. — Eloquence is a great and diverse thing: nor did she yet ever favor any man so much as to become wholly his. He is happy that can arrive to any degree of her grace. Yet there are who prove themselves masters of her, and absolute lords; but I believe they may mistake their evidence: for it is one thing to be eloquent in the schools, or in the hall; another at the bar, or in the pulpit. There is a difference between mooting and pleading; between fencing and fighting. To make arguments in my study, and confute them, is easy; where I answer myself, not an adversary. So I can see whole volumes dispatched by the umbratical doctors on all sides. But draw these forth into the just lists; let them appear *sub dio*, and they are changed with the place, like bodies bred in the shade; they cannot suffer the sun or a shower, nor bear the open air; they scarce can find themselves, that they were wont to domineer so among their auditors: but indeed I would no more choose a rhetorician for reigning in a school, than I would a pilot for rowing in a pond.

Amor et odium. — Love that is ignorant, and hatred, have almost the same ends. Many foolish lovers wish

the same to their friends, which their enemies would: as to wish a friend banished, that they might accompany him in exile; or some great want, that they might relieve him; or a disease, that they might sit by him. They make a causeway to their courtesy by injury, as if it were not honester to do nothing than to seek a way to do good by a mischief.

Injuria. — Injuries do not extinguish courtesies: they only suffer them not to appear fair. For a man that doth me an injury after a courtesy, takes not away the courtesy, but defaces it: as he that writes other verses upon my verses, takes not away the first letters, but hides them.

Beneficia. — Nothing is a courtesy unless it be meant us; and that friendly and lovingly. We owe no thanks to rivers, that they carry our boats; or winds, that they be favoring and fill our sails; or meats, that they be nourishing. For these are what they are necessarily. Horses carry us, trees shade us, but they know it not. It is true, some men may receive a courtesy and not know it; but never any man received it from him that knew it not. Many men have been cured of diseases by accidents; but they were not remedies. I myself have known one helped of an ague by falling into a water, another whipped out of a fever: but no man would ever use these for medicines. It is the mind, and not the event, that distinguisheth the courtesy from wrong. My adversary may offend the judge with his pride and impertinences, and I win my cause; but he meant it not me as a courtesy. I escaped pirates by being shipwracked; was the wrack a benefit therefore? No; the doing of courtesies aright is the mixing of the respects for his own sake and for mine. He that doeth them merely for his own sake is like one that feeds his cattle to sell them: he hath his horse well dressed for Smithfield.

Valor rerum. — The price of many things is far above what they are bought and sold for. Life and health, which are both inestimable, we have of the physician; as learning and knowledge, the true tillage of the mind, from our schoolmasters. But the fees of the one or the salary of the other never answer the value of what we received, but served to gratify their labors.

Memoria. — Memory, of all the powers of the mind, is the most delicate and frail; it is the first of our faculties that age invades. Seneca, the father, the rhetorician, confesseth of himself he had a miraculous one, not only to receive but to hold. I myself could, in my youth, have repeated all that ever I had made, and so continued till I was past forty; since, it is much decayed in me. Yet I can repeat whole books that I have read, and poems of some selected friends which I have liked to charge my memory with. It was wont to be faithful to me; but shaken with age now, and sloth, which weakens the strongest abilities, it may perform somewhat, but cannot promise much. By exercise it is to be made better and serviceable. Whatsoever I pawned with it while I was young and a boy, it offers me readily, and without stops; but what I trust to it now, or have done of later years, it lays up more negligently, and often times loses; so that I receive mine own (though frequently called for) as if it were new and borrowed. Nor do I always find presently from it what I do seek; but while I am doing another thing, that I labored for will come; and what I sought with trouble will offer it self when I am quiet. Now, in some men I have found it as happy as Nature, who, whatsoever they read or pen, they can say without book presently, as if they did then write in their mind. And it is more a wonder in such as have a swift style, for their memories are commonly slowest; such as torture their writings, and go into council for every word, must

needs fix somewhat, and make it their own at last, though but through their own vexation.

Comit[iorum] suffragia. — Suffrages in Parliament are numbered, not weighed; nor can it be otherwise in those public councils where nothing is so unequal as the equality; for there, how odd soever men's brains or wisdoms are, their power is always even and the same.

Stare a partibus. — Some actions, be they never so beautiful and generous, are often obscured by base and vile misconstructions, either out of envy or ill-nature, that judgeth of others as of it self. Nay, the times are so wholly grown to be either partial or malicious, that if he be a friend, all sits well about him, his very vices shall be virtues; if an enemy, or of the contrary faction, nothing is good or tolerable in him; insomuch that we care not to discredit and shame our judgments to soothe our passions.

Deus in creaturis. — Man is read in his face; God in His creatures; but not as the philosopher, the creature of glory, reads him; but as the divine, the servant of humility; yet even he must take care not to be too curious. For to utter truth of God, but as he thinks only, may be dangerous, who is best known by our not knowing. Some things of Him, so much as He hath revealed or commanded, it is not only lawful but necessary for us to know; for therein our ignorance was the first cause of our wickedness.

Veritas proprium hominis. — Truth is man's proper good, and the only immortal thing was given to our mortality to use. No good Christian or ethnic, if he be honest, can miss it; no statesman or patriot should. For without truth all the actions of mankind are craft, malice, or what you will, rather than wisdom. Homer says he hates him worse than hell-mouth that utters one thing with his tongue and keeps another in his breast. Which

high expression was grounded on divine reason; for a lying mouth is a stinking pit, and murders with the contagion it venteth. Beside, nothing is lasting that is feigned; it will have another face than it had, ere long. As Euripides saith, "No lie ever grows old."

Nullum vitium sine patrocinio. — It is strange there should be no vice without his patronage, that when we have no other excuse we will say, we love it, we cannot forsake it. As if that made it not more a fault. We cannot, because we think we cannot, and we love it because we will defend it. We will rather excuse it than be rid of it. That we cannot is pretended; but that we will not is the true reason. How many have I known that would not have their vices hid; nay, and, to be noted, live like Antipodes to others in the same city: never see the sun rise or set in so many years, but be as they were watching a corpse by torch-light; would not sin the common way, but held that a kind of rusticity. They would do it new, or contrary, for the infamy; they were ambitious of living backward; and at last arrived at that, as they would love nothing but the vices, not the vicious customs. It was impossible to reform these natures; they were dried and hardened in their ill. They may say they desired to leave it, but do not trust them; and they may think they desire it, but they may lie for all that; they are a little angry with their follies now and then; marry, they come into grace with them again quickly. They will confess they are offended with their manner of living: like enough; who is not? When they can put me in security that they are more than offended, that they hate it, then I'll hearken to them, and perhaps believe them: but many now-a-days love and hate their ill together.

De vere arguti. — I do hear them say often: some men are not witty, because they are not everywhere witty;

than which nothing is more foolish. If an eye or a nose be an excellent part in the face, therefore be all eye or nose? I think the eyebrow, the forehead, the cheek, chin, lip, or any part else are as necessary and natural in the place. But now nothing is good that is natural; right and natural language seem[s] to have least of the wit in it; that which is writhed and tortured is counted the more exquisite. Cloth of bodkin or tissue must be embroidered; as if no face were fair that were not pouldred or painted; no beauty to be had but in wresting and writhing our own tongue. Nothing is fashionable till it be deformed; and this is to write like a gentleman. All must be affected and preposterous as our gallants' clothes, sweet-bags, and night-dressings, in which you would think our men lay in, like ladies, it is so curious.

Censura de poetis. — Nothing in our age, I have observed, is more preposterous than the running judgments upon poetry and poets; when we shall hear those things commended and cried up for the best writings which a man would scarce vouchsafe to wrap any wholesome drug in: he would never light his tobacco with them. And those men almost named for miracles, who yet are so vile that if a man should go about to examine and correct them, he must make all they have done but one blot. Their good is so entangled with their bad as forcibly one must draw on the other's death with it. A sponge dipped in ink will do all:

> Comitetur Punica librum
> Spongia.

Et paulo post,

> Non possunt . . . multæ,
> . . . . . una litura potest.

Yet their vices have not hurt them; nay, a great many they have profited, for they have been loved for nothing

else. And this false opinion grows strong against the best men, if once it take root with the ignorant. Cestius, in his time, was preferred to Cicero, so far as the ignorant durst. They learned him without book, and had him often in their mouths; but a man cannot imagine that thing so foolish or rude but will find and enjoy an admirer; at least a reader or spectator. The puppets are seen now in despite of the players; Heath's epigrams and the Sculler's poems have their applause. There are never wanting that dare prefer the worst preachers, the worst pleaders, the worst poets; not that the better have left to write or speak better, but that they that hear them judge worse; *Non illi pejus dicunt, sed hi corruptius judicant.* Nay, if it were put to the question of the water-rimer's works, against Spenser's, I doubt not but they would find more suffrages; because the most favor common vices, out of a prerogative the vulgar have to lose their judgments and like that which is naught.

Poetry, in this latter age, hath proved but a mean mistress to such as have wholly addicted themselves to her, or given their names up to her family. They who have but saluted her on the by, and now and then tendered their visits, she hath done much for, and advanced in the way of their own professions — both the law and the gospel — beyond all they could have hoped or done for themselves without her favor. Wherein she doth emulate the judicious but preposterous bounty of the time's grandees, who accumulate all they can upon the parasite or fresh-man in their friendship; but think an old client or honest servant bound by his place to write and starve.

Indeed, the multitude commend writers as they do fencers or wrastlers, who, if they come in robustiously and put for it with a deal of violence, are received for the braver fellows; when many times their own rudeness is a cause of their disgrace, and a slight touch of

their adversary gives all that boisterous force the foil. But in these things the unskilful are naturally deceived, and judging wholly by the bulk, think rude things greater than polished, and scattered more numerous than composed. Nor think this only to be true in the sordid multitude, but the neater sort of our gallants; for all are the multitude, only they differ in clothes, not in judgment or understanding.

De Shakespeare nostrat[*i*]. — I remember the players have often mentioned it as an honor to Shakespeare, that in his writing, whatsoever he penned, he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, "Would he had blotted a thousand," which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this but for their ignorance, who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by wherein he most faulted; and to justify mine own candor, for I loved the man, and do honor his memory on this side idolatry as much as any. He was, indeed, honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent fancy, brave notions, and gentle expressions, wherein he flowed with that facility that sometime it was necessary he should be stopped. "*Sufflaminandus erat*," as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his own power; would the rule of it had been so too. Many times he fell into those things, could not escape laughter, as when he said in the person of Cæsar, one speaking to him: "Cæsar, thou dost me wrong." He replied: "Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause;" and such like, which were ridiculous. But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned.

Ingeniorum discrimina. — In the difference of wits I have observed there are many notes; and it is a little maistry to know them, to discern what every nature,

every disposition will bear: for before we sow our land we should plough it. There are no fewer forms of minds than of bodies amongst us. The variety is incredible, and therefore we must search. Some are fit to make divines, some poets, some lawyers, some physicians; some to be sent to the plough, and trades. There is no doctrine will do good where nature is wanting. Some wits are swelling and high; others low and still; some hot and fiery; others cold and dull; one must have a bridle, the other a spur.

There be some that are forward and bold; and these will do every little thing easily: I mean that is hard by and next them, which they will utter unretarded without any shamefastness. These never perform much, but quickly. They are what they are on the sudden; they show presently, like grain that, scattered on the top of the ground, shoots up, but takes no root, has a yellow blade, but the ear empty. They are wits of good promise at first, but there is an *ingenistitium;* they stand still at sixteen, they get no higher.

You have others that labor only to ostentation; and are ever more busy about the colors and surface of a work than in the matter and foundation, for that is hid, the other is seen.

Others that in composition are nothing but what is rough and broken. *Quæ per salebras, altaque saxa cadunt.* And if it would come gently, they trouble it of purpose. They would not have it run without rubs, as if that style were more strong and manly that stroke the ear with a kind of unevenness. These men err not by chance, but knowingly and willingly; they are like men that affect a fashion by themselves; have some singularity in a ruff, cloak, or hat-band; or their beards specially cut to provoke beholders, and set a mark upon themselves. They would be reprehended while they are

looked on. And this vice, one that is in authority with the rest, loving, delivers over to them to be imitated; so that oft-times the faults which he fell into the others seek for. This is the danger, when vice becomes a precedent.

Others there are that have no composition at all; but a kind of tuning and riming fall in what they write. It runs and slides, and only makes a sound. Women's poets they are called, as you have women's tailors.

> They write a verse as smooth, as soft as cream,
> In which there is no torrent, nor scarce stream.

You may sound these wits and find the depth of them with your middle finger. They are cream-bowl-, or but puddle-deep.

Some that turn over all books, and are equally searching in all papers; that write out of what they presently find or meet, without choice. By which means it happens that what they have discredited and impugned in one work, they have before or after extolled the same in another. Such are all the essayists, even their master Montaigne. These, in all they write, confess still what books they have read last, and therein their own folly so much, that they bring it to the stake raw and undigested; not that the place did need it neither, but that they thought themselves furnished and would vent it.

Some, again who, after they have got authority, or, which is less, opinion, by their writings, to have read much, dare presently to feign whole books and authors, and lie safely. For what never was, will not easily be found, not by the most curious.

And some, by a cunning protestation against all reading, and false venditation of their own naturals, think to divert the sagacity of their readers from themselves, and cool the scent of their own fox-like thefts; when

yet they are so rank, as a man may find whole pages together usurped from one author; their necessities compelling them to read for present use, which could not be in many books; and so come forth more ridiculously and palpably guilty than those who, because they cannot trace, they yet would slander their industry.

But the wretcheder are the obstinate contemners of all helps and arts; such as presuming on their own naturals, which, perhaps, are excellent, dare deride all diligence, and seem to mock at the terms when they understand not the things; thinking that way to get off wittily with their ignorance. These are imitated often by such as are their peers in negligence, though they cannot be in nature; and they utter all they can think with a kind of violence and indisposition, unexamined, without relation either to person, place, or any fitness else; and the more wilful and stubborn they are in it the more learned they are esteemed of the multitude, through their excellent vice of judgment, who think those things the stronger that have no art; as if to break were better than to open, or to rend asunder gentler than to loose.

It cannot but come to pass that these men who commonly seek to do more than enough may sometimes happen on something that is good and great; but very seldom: and when it comes it doth not recompence the rest of their ill. For their jests, and their sentences, which they only and ambitiously seek for, stick out, and are more eminent, because all is sordid and vile about them; as lights are more discerned in a thick darkness than a faint shadow. Now, because they speak all they can, however unfitly, they are thought to have the greater copy; where the learned use ever election and a mean, they look back to what they intended at first, and make all an even and proportioned body. The true artificer will not run away from Nature as he were afraid of

her, or depart from life and the likeness of truth, but speak to the capacity of his hearers. And though his language differ from the vulgar somewhat, it shall not fly from all humanity, with the Tamerlanes and Tamer-chams of the late age, which had nothing in them but the scenical strutting and furious vociferation to warrant them to the ignorant gapers. He knows it is his only art so to carry it, as none but artificers perceive it. In the mean time, perhaps, he is called barren, dull, lean, a poor writer, or by what contumelious word can come in their cheeks, by these men who, without labor, judgment, knowledge, or almost sense, are received or preferred before him. He gratulates them and their fortune. An other age, or juster men, will acknowledge the virtues of his studies, his wisdom in dividing, his subtlety in arguing, with what strength he doth inspire his readers, with what sweetness he strokes them; in inveighing, what sharpness; in jest, what urbanity he uses; how he doth reign in men's affections; how invade and break in upon them, and make their minds like the thing he writes. Then in his elocution to behold what word is proper, which hath ornament, which height, what is beautifully translated, where figures are fit, which gentle, which strong, to show the composition manly; and how he hath avoided faint, obscure, obscene, sordid, humble, improper, or effeminate phrase; which is not only praised of the most, but commended, which is worse, especially for that it is naught.

Ignorantia animæ. — I know no disease of the soul but ignorance, not of the arts and sciences, but of it self; yet relating to those it is a pernicious evil, the darkener of man's life, the disturber of his reason, and common confounder of truth, with which a man goes groping in the dark, no otherwise than if he were blind. Great understandings are most racked and troubled with it;

nay, sometimes they will rather choose to die than not to know the things they study for. Think then what an evil it is, and what good the contrary.

Scientia. — Knowledge is the action of the soul, and is perfect without the senses, as having the seeds of all science and virtue in it self; but not without the service of the senses; by those organs the soul works; she is a perpetual agent, prompt and subtle: but often flexible and erring, entangling herself like a silkworm, but her reason is a weapon with two edges, and cuts through. In her indagations oft-times new scents put her by, and she takes in errors into her by the same conduits she doth truths.

Otium studiorum. — Ease and relaxation are profitable to all studies. The mind is like a bow, the stronger by being unbent. But the temper in spirits is all, when to command a man's wit, when to favor it. I have known a man vehement on both sides, that knew no mean, either to intermit his studies or call upon them again. When he hath set himself to writing he would join night to day, press upon himself without release, not minding it, till he fainted; and when he left off, resolve himself into all sports and looseness again, that it was almost a despair to draw him to his book; but once got to it, he grew stronger and more earnest by the ease. His whole powers were renewed; he would work out of himself what he desired, but with such excess as his study could not be ruled; he knew not how to dispose his own abilities, or husband them; he was of that immoderate power against himself. Nor was he only a strong, but an absolute speaker and writer; but his subtlety did not show it self; his judgment thought that a vice; for the ambush hurts more that is hid. He never forced his language, nor went out of the highway of speaking but for some great necessity or apparent profit; for he denied figures to be

invented for ornament, but for aid; and still thought it an extreme madness to bind or wrest that which ought to be right.

Stili eminentia. — It is no wonder men's eminence appears but in their own way. Virgil's felicity left him in prose, as Tully's forsook him in verse. Sallust's orations are read in the honor of story, yet the most eloquent Plato's speech, which he made for Socrates, is neither worthy of the patron nor the person defended. Nay, in the same kind of oratory, and where the matter is one, you shall have him that reasons strongly, open negligently; another that prepares well, not fit so well. And this happens not only to brains, but to bodies. One can wrastle well, another run well, a third leap or throw the bar, a fourth lift or stop a cart going: each hath his way of strength. So in other creatures — some dogs are for the deer, some for the wild boar, some are fox-hounds, some otter-hounds. Nor are all horses for the coach or saddle, some are for the cart and panniers.

De claris oratoribus. — I have known many excellent men that would speak suddenly to the admiration of their hearers, who upon study and premeditation have been forsaken by their own wits, and no way answered their fame; their eloquence was greater than their reading, and the things they uttered better than those they knew; their fortune deserved better of them than their care. For men of present spirits, and of greater wits than study, do please more in the things they invent than in those they bring. And I have heard some of them compelled to speak, out of necessity, that have so infinitely exceeded themselves, as it was better both for them and their auditory that they were so surprised, not prepared. Nor was it safe then to cross them, for their adversary, their anger made them more eloquent. Yet these men I could not but love and admire, that they

returned to their studies. They left not diligence, as many do, when their rashness prospered; for diligence is a great aid, even to an indifferent wit; when we are not contented with the examples of our own age, but would know the face of the former. Indeed, the more we confer with the more we profit by, if the persons be chosen.

Dominus Verulamius. — One, though he be excellent and the chief, is not to be imitated alone; for never no imitator ever grew up to his author; likeness is always on this side truth. Yet there happened in my time one noble speaker who was full of gravity in his speaking; his language, where he could spare or pass by a jest, was nobly censorious. No man ever spake more neatly, more presly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness, in what he uttered. No member of his speech but consisted of his own graces. His hearers could not cough, or look aside from him, without loss. He commanded where he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was lest he should make an end.

Scriptorum catalogus. — Cicero is said to be the only wit that the people of Rome had equalled to their empire. *Ingenium par imperio.* We have had many, and in their several ages (to take in but the former *seculum*) Sir Thomas More, the elder Wyatt, Henry Earl of Surrey, Chaloner, Smith, Eliot, B[ishop] Gardiner, were for their times admirable; and the more, because they began eloquence with us. Sir Nico[las] Bacon was singular, and almost alone, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's times. Sir Philip Sidney and Mr. Hooker (in different matter) grew great masters of wit and language, and in whom all vigor of invention and strength of judgment met. The Earl of Essex, noble and high; and Sir Walter Raleigh, not to be contemned, either for judgment or

style; Sir Henry Savile, grave, and truly lettered; Sir Edwin Sandys, excellent in both; Lo[rd] Egerton, the Chancellor, a grave and great orator, and best when he was provoked; but his learned and able, though unfortunate, successor is he who hath filled up all numbers, and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome. In short, within his view, and about his times, were all the wits born that could honor a language or help study. Now things daily fall, wits grow downward, and eloquence grows backward; so that he may be named and stand as the mark and ἀκμὴ of our language.

De augmentis scientiarum. — I have ever observed it to have been the office of a wise patriot, among the greatest affairs of the State, to take care of the commonwealth of learning. For schools, they are the seminaries of State; and nothing is worthier the study of a statesman than that part of the republic which we call the advancement of letters. Witness the care of Julius Cæsar, who, in the heat of the civil war, writ his books of *Analogy*, and dedicated them to Tully. This made the late Lord S[aint] Alban entitle his work *Novum Organum;* which, though by the most of superficial men, who cannot get beyond the title of nominals, it is not penetrated nor understood, it really openeth all defects of learning whatsoever, and is a book

Qui longum noto scriptori porriget ævum.

My conceit of his person was never increased toward him by his place or honors. But I have and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever, by his work, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I ever prayed that God would give him strength; for greatness he could

not want. Neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him, as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifest.

De corruptela morum. — There cannot be one color of the mind, another of the wit. If the mind be staid, grave, and composed, the wit is so; that vitiated, the other is blown and deflowered. Do we not see, if the mind languish, the members are dull? Look upon an effeminate person, his very gait confesseth him. If a man be fiery, his motion is so; if angry, it is troubled and violent. So that we may conclude wheresoever manners and fashions are corrupted, language is. It imitates the public riot. The excess of feasts and apparel are the notes of a sick state, and the wantonness of language, of a sick mind.

De rebus mundanis. — If we would consider what our affairs are indeed, not what they are called, we should find more evils belonging us than happen to us. How often doth that which was called a calamity prove the beginning and cause of a man's happiness? and, on the contrary, that which happened or came to another with great gratulation and applause, how it hath lifted him but a step higher to his ruin? as if he stood before where he might fall safely.

Vulgi mores. — *Morbus comitialis.* — The vulgar are commonly ill-natured, and always grudging against their governors; which makes that a prince has more business and trouble with them than ever Hercules had with the bull or any other beast; by how much they have more heads than will be reined with one bridle. There was not that variety of beasts in the ark, as is of beastly natures in the multitude; especially when they come to that iniquity to censure their sovereign's actions. Then all the counsels are made good or bad by the events; and

it falleth out that the same facts receive from them the names, now of diligence, now of vanity, now of majesty, now of fury; where they ought wholly to hang on his mouth, as he to consist of himself, and not others' counsels.

Princeps. — After God, nothing is to be loved of man like the prince; he violates Nature that doth it not with his whole heart. For when he hath put on the care of the public good and common safety, I am a wretch, and put-of[f] man, if I do not reverence and honor him, in whose charge all things divine and human are placed. Do but ask of Nature why all living creatures are less delighted with meat and drink that sustains them than with venery that wastes them? and she will tell thee, the first respects but a private, the other a common good, propagation. He is the arbiter of life and death: when he finds no other subject for his mercy, he should spare himself. All his punishments are rather to correct than to destroy. Why are prayers with Orpheus said to be the daughters of Jupiter, but that princes are thereby admonished that the petitions of the wretched ought to have more weight with them than the laws themselves.

De opt[imo] Rege Jacobo. — It was a great accu[mu]-lation to His Majesty's deserved praise that men might openly visit and pity those whom his greatest prisons had at any time received or his laws condemned.

De Princ[ipum] adjunctis. — *Sed vere prudens haud concipi possit Princeps, nisi simul et bonus.* Wise is rather the attribute of a prince than learned or good. The learned man profits others rather than himself; the good man rather himself than others; but the prince commands others, and doth himself. The wise Lycurgus gave no law but what himself kept. Sylla and Lysander did not so; the one living extremely dissolute himself, enforced frugality by the laws; the other permitted

those licenses to others which himself abstained from. But the prince's prudence is his chief art and safety. In his counsels and deliberations he foresees the future times: in the equity of his judgment he hath remembrance of the past, and knowledge of what is to be done or avoided for the present. Hence the Persians gave out their Cyrus to have been nursed by a bitch, a creature to encounter it, as of sagacity to seek out good; showing that wisdom may accompany fortitude, or it leaves to be, and puts on the name of rashness.

De malign[*itate*] *studentium.* — There be some men are born only to suck out the poison of books: *Habent venenum pro victu; imo, pro deliciis.* And such are they that only relish the obscene and foul things in poets, which makes the profession taxed. But by whom? Men that watch for it; and, had they not had this hint, are so unjust valuers of letters as they think no learning good but what brings in gain. It shows they themselves would never have been of the professions they are but for the profits and fees. But if another learning, well used, can instruct to good life, inform manners, no less persuade and lead men than they threaten aud compel, and have no reward, is it therefore the worst study? I could never think the study of wisdom confined only to the philosopher, or of piety to the divine, or of state to the politic; but that he which can feign a commonwealth (which is the poet) can gown it with counsels, strengthen it with laws, correct it with judgments, inform it with religion and morals, is all these. We do not require in him mere elocution, or an excellent faculty in verse, but the exact knowledge of all virtues and their contraries, with ability to render the one loved, the other hated, by his proper embattling them. The philosophers did insolently, to

challenge only to themselves that which the greatest generals and gravest counsellors never durst. For such had rather do than promise the best things.

Controvers[iales] scriptores. — Some controverters in divinity are like swaggerers in a tavern that catch that which stands next them, the candlestick or pots; turn everything into a weapon: oft-times they fight blindfold, and both beat the air. *More Andabatarum qui clausis oculis pugnant.* The one milks a he-goat, the other holds under a sieve. Their arguments are as fluxive as liquor spilt upon a table, which with your finger you may drain as you will. Such controversies or disputations (carried with more labor than profit) are odious; where most times the truth is lost in the midst or left untouched. And the fruit of their fight is, that they spit one upon another, and are both defiled. These fencers in religion I like not.

Morbi. — The body hath certain diseases that are with less evil tolerated than removed. As if to cure a leprosy a man should bathe himself with the warm blood of a murdered child, so in the Church some errors may be dissimuled with less inconvenience than can be discovered.

Factantia intempestiva. — Men that talk of their own benefits are not believed to talk of them because they have done them; but to have done them because they might talk of them. That which had been great, if another had reported it of them, vanisheth, and is nothing, if he that did it speak of it. For men, when they cannot destroy the deed, will yet be glad to take advantage of the boasting, and lessen it.

Adulatio. — I have seen that poverty makes men do unfit things; but honest men should not do them; they should gain otherwise. Though a man be hungry, he should not play the parasite. That hour wherein I would

repent me to be honest, there were ways enow open for me to be rich. But flattery is a fine pick-lock of tender ears; especially of those whom fortune hath borne high upon their wings, that submit their dignity and authority to it, by a soothing of themselves. For, indeed, men could never be taken in that abundance with the springes of others' flattery, if they began not there; if they did but remember how much more profitable the bitterness of truth were, than all the honey distilling from a whorish voice, which is not praise, but poison. But now it is come to that extreme folly, or rather madness, with some, that he that flatters them modestly or sparingly is thought to malign them. If their friend consent not to their vices, though he do not contradict them, he is nevertheless an enemy. When they do all things the worst way, even then they look for praise. Nay, they will hire fellows to flatter them with suits and suppers, and to prostitute their judgments. They have livery-friends, friends of the dish, and of the spit, that wait their turns, as my lord has his feasts and guests.

De vita humana. — I have considered our whole life is like a play: wherein every man forgetful of himself, is in travail with expression of another. Nay, we so insist in imitating others, as we cannot when it is necessary return to ourselves; like children, that imitate the vices of stammerers so long, till at last they become such, and make the habit to another nature, as it is never forgotten.

De piis et probis. — Good men are the stars, the planets of the ages wherein they live and illustrate the times. God did never let them be wanting to the world: as Abel, for an example of innocency, Enoch of purity, Noah of trust in God's mercies, Abraham of faith, and so of the rest. These, sensual men thought mad because they would not be partakers or practisers of their mad-

ness. But they, placed high on the top of all virtue, looked down on the stage of the world and contemned the play of fortune. For though the most be players, some must be spectators.

Mores aulici. — I have discovered that a feigned familiarity in great ones is a note of certain usurpation on the less. For great and popular men feign themselves to be servants to others to make those slaves to them. So the fisher provides bait for the trout, roach, dace, etc., that they may be food to him.

Impiorum querela. — The complaint of Caligula was most wicked of the condition of his times, when he said they were not famous for any public calamity, as the reign of Augustus was, by the defeat of Varus and the legions; and that of Tiberius, by the falling of the theatre at Fidenæ; whilst his oblivion was eminent through the prosperity of his affairs. As that other voice of his was worthier a headsman than a head when he wished the people of Rome had but one neck. But he found when he fell that they had many hands. A tyrant, how great and mighty soever he may seem to cowards and sluggards, is but one creature, one animal.

Nobilium ingenia. — I have marked among the nobility some are so addicted to the service of the prince and commonwealth, as they look not for spoil; such are to be honored and loved. There are others which no obligation will fasten on; and they are of two sorts. The first are such as love their own ease; or, out of vice, of nature, or self-direction, avoid business and care. Yet these the prince may use with safety. The other remove themselves upon craft and design, as the architects say, with a premeditated thought, to their own rather than their prince's profit. Such let the prince take heed of, and not doubt to reckon in the list of his open enemies.

Principum varia[tio] Firmissima vero omnium basis

jus hæreditarium Principis. — There is a great variation between him that is raised to the sovereignty by the favor of his peers and him that comes to it by the suffrage of the people. The first holds with more difficulty, because he hath to do with many that think themselves his equals, and raised him for their own greatness and oppression of the rest. The latter hath no upbraiders, but was raised by them that sought to be defended from oppression: whose end is both the easier and the honester to satisfy. Beside, while he hath the people to friend, who are a multitude, he hath the less fear of the nobility, who are but few. Nor let the common proverb of he that builds on the people builds on the dirt, discredit my opinion: for that hath only place where an ambitious and private person, for some popular end, trusts in them against the public justice and magistrate. There they will leave him. But when a prince governs them, so as they have still need of his administration (for that is his art), he shall ever make and hold them faithful.

Clementia. — A prince should exercise his cruelty not by himself, but by his ministers; so he may save himself and his dignity with his people by sacrificing those when he list, saith the great doctor of state, Machiavell. But I say he puts off man and goes into a beast, that is cruel. No virtue is a prince's own, or becomes him more, than this clemency: and no glory is greater than to be able to save with his power. Many punishments, sometimes and in some cases, as much discredit a prince, as many funerals a physician. The state of things is secured by clemency; severity represseth a few, but it irritates more. *Haud infima ars in principe, ubi lenitas, ubi severitas plus polleat in commune bonum, callere.* The lopping of trees makes the boughs shoot out thicker; and the taking away of some kind of enemies increaseth the number. It is then most gracious in a prince to pardon when

many about him would make him cruel; to think then how much he can save when others tell him how much he can destroy; not to consider what the impotence of others hath demolished, but what his own greatness can sustain. These are a prince's virtues: and they that give him other counsels are but the hangman's factors.

Clementia tutela optima. — He that is cruel to halves (saith the said S[ain]t Nicholas) loseth no less the opportunity of his cruelty than of his benefits: for then to use his cruelty is too late; and to use his favors will be interpreted fear and necessity, and so he loseth the thanks. Still the counsel is cruelty. But princes, by hearkening to cruel counsels, become in time obnoxious to the authors, their flatterers, and ministers; and are brought to that, that when they would, they dare not change them; they must go on and defend cruelty with cruelty; they cannot alter the habit. It is then grown necessary, they must be as ill as those have made them: and in the end they will grow more hateful to themselves than to their subjects. Whereas, on the contrary, the merciful prince is safe in love, not in fear. He needs no emissaries, spies, intelligencers to entrap true subjects. He fears no libels, no treasons. His people speak what they think, and talk openly what they do in secret. They have nothing in their breasts that they need a cypher for. He is guarded with his own benefits.

Religio. — The strength of empire is in religion. What else is the Palladium (with Homer) that kept Troy so long from sacking? Nothing more commends the Sovereign to the subject than it. For he that is religious must be merciful and just necessarily: and they are two strong ties upon mankind. Justice is the virtue that innocence rejoiceth in. Yet even that is not always so safe, but it may love to stand in the sight of mercy. For sometimes misfortune is made a crime, and then inno-

cence is succored no less than virtue. Nay, oftentimes virtue is made capital; and through the condition of the times it may happen that that may be punished with our praise. Let no man therefore murmur at the actions of the prince, who is placed so far above him. If he offend, he hath his discoverer. God hath a height beyond him. But "where the prince is good," Euripides saith, "God is a guest in a human body."

Tyranni. — There is nothing with some princes sacred above their majesty, or profane, but what violates their sceptres. But a prince, with such counsel, is like the god Terminus, of stone, his own landmark, or as it is in the fable, a crowned lion. It is dangerous offending such a one, who, being angry, knows not how to forgive; that cares not to do anything for maintaining or enlarging of empire; kills not men or subjects, but destroyeth whole countries, armies, mankind, male and female, guilty or not guilty, holy or profane; yea, some that have not seen the light. All is under the law of their spoil and licence. But princes that neglect their proper office thus their fortune is oftentimes to draw a Sejanus to be near about them, who will at last affect to get above them, and put them in a worthy fear of rooting both them out and their family. For no men hate an evil prince more than they that helped to make him such. And none more boastingly weep his ruin than they that procured and practised it. The same path leads to ruin which did to rule when men profess a licence in governing. A good king is a public servant.

Illiteratus princeps. — A prince without letters is a pilot without eyes. All his government is groping. In sovereignty it is a most happy thing not to be compelled; but so it is the most miserable not to be counselled. And how can he be counselled that cannot see to read the best counsellors, which are books: for they neither flatter

us nor hide from us? He may hear, you will say; but how shall he always be sure to hear truth, or be counselled the best things, not the sweetest? They say princes learn no art truly but the art of horsemanship. The reason is the brave beast is no flatterer. He will throw a prince as soon as his groom. Which is an argument that the good counsellors to princes are the best instruments of a good age. For though the prince himself be of a most prompt inclination to all virtue, yet the best pilots have need of mariners besides sails, anchor, and other tackle.

Character principis. — If men did know what shining fetters, gilded miseries, and painted happiness thrones and sceptres were, there would not be so frequent strife about the getting or holding of them; there would be more principalities than princes; for a prince is the pastor of the people. He ought to shear, not to flay his sheep; to take their fleeces, not their fells. Who were his enemies before, being a private man, become his children now he is public. He is the soul of the commonwealth, and ought to cherish it as his own body. Alexander the Great was wont to say, he hated that gardener that plucked his herbs or flowers up by the roots. A man may milk a breast till the blood come; churn milk and it yieldeth butter, but wring the nose and the blood followeth. He is an ill prince that so pulls his subjects' feathers as he would not have them grow again; that makes his exchequer a receipt for the spoils of those he governs. No, let him keep his own, not affect his subjects'; strive rather to be called just than powerful. Not, like the Roman tyrants, affect the surnames that grow by human slaughters; neither to seek war in peace, nor peace in war, but to observe faith given, though to an enemy. Study piety toward the subject; show care to defend him. Be slow to punish in divers cases, but be a sharp

and severe revenger of open crimes. Break no decrees or dissolve no orders to slacken the strength of laws. Choose neither magistrates, civil or ecclesiastic, by favor or price; but with long disquisition and report of their worth by all suffrages. Sell no honors, nor give them hastily, but bestow them with counsel and for reward; if he do, acknowledge it though late, and mend it. For princes are easy to be deceived; and what wisdom can escape it where so many court-arts are studied? But, above all, the prince is to remember that when the great day of account comes, which neither magistrate nor prince can shun, there will be required of him a reckoning for those whom he hath trusted, as for himself, which he must provide. And if piety be wanting in the priests, equity in the judges, or the magistrates be found rated at a price, what justice or religion is to be expected? which are the only two attributes make kings akin to gods, and is the Delphic sword, both to kill sacrifices and to chastise offenders.

De gratiosis. — When a virtuous man is raised, it brings gladness to his friends, grief to his enemies, and glory to his posterity. Nay, his honors are a great part of the honor of the times; when by this means he is grown to active men an example, to the slothful a spur, to the envious a punishment.

Divites. — He which is sole heir to many rich men, having, besides his father's and uncles', the estates of divers his kindred come to him by accession, must needs be richer than father or grandfather; so they which are left heirs *ex asse* of all their ancestors' vices, and by their good husbandry improve the old and daily purchase new, must needs be wealthier in vice, and have a greater revenue or stock of ill to spend on.

Fures publici. — The great thieves of a state are lightly the officers of the crown; they hang the less still, play the

pikes in the pond, eat whom they list. The net was never spread for the hawk or buzzard that hurt us, but the harmless birds: they are good meat:

> Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.
>
> Non rete accipitri tenditur, neque milvio.

But they are not always safe though, especially when they meet with wise masters. They can take down all the huff and swelling of their looks, and like dexterous auditors place the counter where he shall value nothing. Let them but remember Lewis XI., who to a Clerk of the Exchequer that came to be Lord Treasurer, and had for his device represented himself sitting upon Fortune's wheel, told him he might do well to fasten it with a good, strong nail, lest, turning about, it might bring him where he was again. As indeed it did.

De bonis et malis; de innocentia. — A good man will avoid the spot of any sin. The very aspersion is grievous, which makes him choose his way in his life as he would in his journey. The ill man rides through all confidently; he is coated and booted for it. The oftener he offends, the more openly, and the fouler, the fitter in fashion. His modesty, like a riding-coat, the more it is worn is the less cared for. It is good enough for the dirt still, and the ways he travels in. An innocent man needs no eloquence, his innocence is instead of it, else I had never come off so many times from these precipices, whither men's malice hath pursued me. It is true I have been accused to the lords, to the king, and by great ones, but it happened my accusers had not thought of the accusation with themselves and so were driven, for want of crimes, to use invention, which was found slander, or too late (being entered so fair) to seek starting-holes for their rashness, which were not given them. And then they may think what accusation that was like to prove,

when they that were the engineers feared to be the authors. Nor were they content to feign things against me, but to urge things, feigned by the ignorant, against my profession, which though, from their hired and mercenary impudence, I might have passed by as granted to a nation of barkers that let out their tongues to lick others' sores; yet I durst not leave myself undefended, having a pair of ears unskilful to hear lies, or have those things said of me which I could truly prove of them. They objected making of verses to me, when I could object to most of them, their not being able to read them, but as worthy of scorn. Nay, they would offer to urge mine own writings against me, but by pieces (which was an excellent way of malice), as if any man's context might not seem dangerous and offensive, if that which was knit to what went before were defrauded of his beginning; or that things by themselves uttered might not seem subject to calumny, which read entire would appear most free. At last they upbraided my poverty: I confess she is my domestic; sober of diet, simple of habit, frugal, painful, a good counseller to me, that keeps me from cruelty, pride, or other more delicate impertinences, which are the nurse-children of riches. But let them look over all the great and monstrous wickednesses, they shall never find those in poor families. They are the issue of the wealthy giants and the mighty hunters, whereas no great work, or worthy of praise or memory, but came out of poor cradles. It was the ancient poverty that founded commonweals, built cities, invented arts, made wholesome laws, armed men against vices, rewarded them with their own virtues, and preserved the honor and state of nations, till they betrayed themselves to riches.

Amor nummi. — Money never made any man rich, but his mind. He that can order himself to the law of Nature is not only without the sense but the fear of

poverty. O, but to strike blind the people with our wealth and pomp is the thing! What a wretchedness is this, to thrust all our riches outward, and be beggars within; to contemplate nothing but the little, vile, and sordid things of the world; not the great, noble, and precious! We serve our avarice, and, not content with the good of the earth that is offered us, we search and dig for the evil that is hidden. God offered us those things, and placed them at hand, and near us, that He knew were profitable for us, but the hurtful He laid deep and hid. Yet do we seek only the things whereby we may perish, and bring them forth, when God and Nature hath buried them. We covet superfluous things, when it were more honor for us if we could contemn necessary. What need hath Nature of silver dishes, multitudes of waiters, delicate pages, perfumed napkins? She requires meat only, and hunger is not ambitious. Can we think no wealth enough but such a state for which a man may be brought into a *præmunire*, begged, proscribed, or poisoned? O! if a man could restrain the fury of his gullet and groin, and think how many fires, how many kitchens, cooks, pastures, and ploughed lands; what orchards, stews, ponds and parks, coops and garners, he could spare; what velvets, tissues, embroideries, laces, he could lack; and then how short and uncertain his life is; he were in a better way to happiness than to live the emperor of these delights, and be the dictator of fashions. But we make our selves slaves to our pleasures, and we serve fame and ambition, which is an equal slavery. Have not I seen the pomp of a whole kingdom, and what a foreign king could bring hither also to make himself gazed and wondered at, laid forth, as it were, to the show, and vanish all away in a day? And shall that which could not fill the expectation of few hours, entertain and take up our whole lives, when even it appeared as superfluous

to the possessors as to me that was a spectator? The bravery was shown, it was not possessed; while it boasted itself it perished. It is vile, and a poor thing to place our happiness on these desires. Say we wanted them all, famine ends famine.

De mollibus et effœminatis. — There is nothing valiant or solid to be hoped for from such as are always kempt and perfumed, and every day smell of the tailor; the exceedingly curious that are wholly in mending such an imperfection in the face, in taking away the morphew in the neck, or bleaching their hands at midnight, gumming and bridling their beards, or making the waist small, binding it with hoops, while the mind runs at waste: too much pickedness is not manly. Not from those that will jest at their own outward imperfections, but hide their ulcers within, their pride, lust, envy, ill-nature, with all the art and authority they can. These persons are in danger, for whilst they think to justify their ignorance by impudence, and their persons by clothes and outward ornaments, they use but a commission to deceive themselves: where, if we will look with our understanding, and not our senses, we may behold virtue and beauty (though covered with rags) in their brightness; and vice and deformity so much the fouler, in having all the splendor of riches to gild them, or the false light of honor and power to help them. Yet this is that wherewith the world is taken, and runs mad to gaze on — clothes and titles, the birdlime of fools.

De stultitia. — What petty things they are we wonder at, like children that esteem every trifle, and prefer a fairing before their fathers! What difference is between us and them but that we are dearer fools, coxcombs at a higher rate? They are pleased with cockleshells, whistles, hobbyhorses, and such like; we with statues, marble pillars, pictures, gilded roofs, where underneath is lath

and lime, perhaps loam. Yet we take pleasure in the lie, and are glad we can cozen ourselves. Nor is it only in our walls and ceilings, but all that we call happiness is mere painting and gilt, and all for money. What a thin membrane of honor that is, and how hath all true reputation fallen, since money began to have any! Yet the great herd, the multitude, that in all other things are divided, in this alone conspire and agree — to love money. They wish for it, they embrace it, they adore it, while yet it is possessed with greater stir and torment than it is gotten.

De sibi molestis. — Some men what losses soever they have they make them greater, and if they have none, even all that is not gotten is a loss. Can there be creatures of more wretched condition than these, that continually labor under their own misery and others' envy? A man should study other things, not to covet, not to fear, not to repent him; to make his base such as no tempest shall shake him; to be secure of all opinion, and pleasing to himself, even for that wherein he displeaseth others; for the worst opinion gotten for doing well, should delight us. Wouldst not thou be just but for fame, thou oughtest to be it with infamy; he that would have his virtue published is not the servant of virtue, but glory.

Periculosa melancholia. — It is a dangerous thing when men's minds come to sojourn with their affections, and their diseases eat into their strength; that when too much desire and greediness of vice hath made the body unfit, or unprofitable, it is yet gladded with the sight and spectacle of it in others; and for want of ability to be an actor, is content to be a witness. It enjoys the pleasure of sinning in beholding others sin, as in dicing, drinking, drabbing, etc. Nay, when it cannot do all these, it is offended with his own narrowness, that

excludes it from the universal delights of mankind, and oft times dies of a melancholy, that it cannot be vicious enough.

Falsæ species fugiendæ. — I am glad when I see any man avoid the infamy of a vice; but to shun the vice itself were better. Till he do that he is but like the prentice, who, being loth to be spied by his master coming forth of Black Lucy's, went in again; to whom his master cried, "The more thou runnest that way to hide thyself, the more thou art in the place." So are those that keep a tavern all day, that they may not be seen at night. I have known lawyers, divines — yea, great ones — of this heresy.

Decipimur specie. — There is a greater reverence had of things remote or strange to us than of much better if they be nearer and fall under our sense. Men, and almost all sorts of creatures, have their reputation by distance. Rivers, the farther they run and more from their spring, the broader they are, and greater. And where our original is known, we are the less confident; among strangers we trust fortune. Yet a man may live as renowned at home, in his own country, or a private village, as in the whole world. For it is virtue that gives glory; that will endenizen a man everywhere. It is only that can naturalise him. A native, if he be vicious, deserves to be a stranger, and cast out of the commonwealth as an alien.

Dejectio aulic[*orum*]. — A dejected countenance and mean clothes beget often a contempt, but it is with the shallowest creatures: courtiers commonly. Look up even with them in a new suit, you get above them straight. Nothing is more short-lived than [their] pride; it is but while their clothes last: stay but while these are worn out, you cannot wish the thing more wretched or dejected.

Poesis et pictura. — Poetry and picture are arts of a like nature, and both are busy about imitation. It was excellently said of Plutarch, poetry was a speaking picture, and picture a mute poesy. For they both invent, feign, and devise many things, and accommodate all they invent to the use and service of Nature. Yet of the two the pen is more noble than the pencil; for that can speak to the understanding, the other but to the sense. They both behold pleasure and profit as their common object; but should abstain from all base pleasures, lest they should err from their end, and, while they seek to better men's minds, destroy their manners. They both are born artificers, not made. Nature is more powerful in them than study.

De pictura. — Whosoever loves not picture is injurious to truth and all the wisdom of poetry. Picture is the invention of heaven, the most ancient and most akin to Nature. It is itself a silent work, and always of one and the same habit; yet it doth so enter and penetrate the inmost affection (being done by an excellent artificer) as sometimes it o'ercomes the power of speech and oratory. There are divers graces in it, so are there in the artificers. One excels in care, another in reason, a third in easiness, a fourth in nature and grace. Some have diligence and comeliness, but they want majesty. They can express a human form in all the graces, sweetness, and elegancy, but they miss the authority. They can hit nothing but smooth cheeks; they cannot express roughness or gravity. Others aspire to truth so much as they are rather lovers of likeness and beauty. Zeuxis and Parrhasius are said to be contemporaries; the first found out the reason of lights and shadows in picture, the other more subtlely examined the lines.

De stilo. — In picture light is required no less than shadow; so in style, height as well as humbleness. But

beware they be not too humble, as Pliny pronounced of Regulus's writings. You would think them written, not on a child, but by a child. Many, out of their own obscene apprehensions, refuse proper and fit words — as *occupy*, *nature*, and the like; so the curious industry in some, of having all alike good, hath come nearer a vice than a virtue.

De progress[*ione*] *picturæ*. — Picture took her feigning from poetry; from geometry her rule, compass, lines, proportion, and the whole symmetry. Parrhasius was the first wan reputation by adding symmetry to picture; he added subtlety to the countenance, elegancy to the hair, love-lines to the face, and by the public voice of all artificers, deserved honor in the outer lines. Eupompus gave it splendor by numbers and other elegancies. From the optics it drew reasons, by which it considered how things placed at distance and afar off should appear less; how above or beneath the head should deceive the eye, etc. So from thence it took shadows, recession, light, and heightenings. From moral philosophy it took the soul, the expression of senses, perturbations, manners, when they would paint an angry person, a proud, an inconstant, an ambitious, a brave, a magnanimous, a just, a merciful, a compassionate, an humble, a dejected, a base, and the like. They made all heightenings bright, all shadows dark, all swellings from a plane, all solids from breaking. See where he [Vitruvius] complains of their painting Chimæras, by the vulgar unaptly called grotesque, saying that men who were born truly to study and emulate Nature did nothing but make monsters against Nature, which Horace so laughed at. The art plastic was moulding in clay or potter's earth anciently. This is the parent of statuary, sculpture, graving, and picture; cutting in brass and marble, all serve under her. Socrates taught Parrhasius and Clito, two noble statuaries, first to express

manners by their looks in imagery. Polygnotus and Aglaophon were ancienter. After them Zeuxis, who was the lawgiver to all painters after Parrhasius. They were contemporaries, and lived both about Philip's time, the father of Alexander the Great. There lived in this latter age six famous painters in Italy, who were excellent and emulous of the ancients — Raphael de Urbino, Michael Angelo Buonarotti, Titian, Antony of Correggio, Sebastian of Venice, Julio Romano, and Andrea [del] Sarto.

Parasiti ad mensam, immo serviles. — These are flatterers for their bread, that praise all my oraculous lord does or says, be it true or false; invent tales that shall please; make baits for his lordship's ears; and if they be not received in what they offer at, they shift a point of the compass, and turn their tale, presently tack about, deny what they confessed, and confess what they denied; fit their discourse to the persons and occasions. What they snatch up and devour at one table, utter at another; and grow suspected of the master, hated of the servants, while they inquire, and reprehend, and compound, and dilate business of the house they have nothing to do with. They praise my lord's wine and the sauce he likes; observe the cook and bottle-man; while they stand in my lord's favor, speak for a pension for them, but pound them to dust upon my lord's least distaste, or change of his palate.

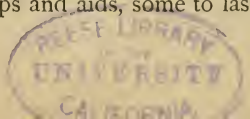
How much better is it to be silent, or at least to speak sparingly! for it is not enough to speak good, but timely things. If a man be asked a question, to answer; but to repeat the question before he answer is well, that he be sure to understand it, to avoid absurdity. For it is less dishonor to hear imperfectly than to speak imperfectly. The ears are excused, the understanding is not. And in things unknown to a man, not to give his opinion, lest by

the affectation of knowing too much he lose the credit he hath by speaking or knowing the wrong way what he utters. Nor seek to get his patron's favor by embarking himself in the factions of the family, to inquire after domestic simulties, their sports or affections. They are an odious and vile kind of creatures, that fly about the house all day, and picking up the filth of the house like pies or swallows, carry it to their nest, the lord's ears, and oftentimes report the lies they have feigned for what they have seen and heard.

These are called instruments of grace and power with great persons, but they are indeed the organs of their impotency, and marks of weakness. For sufficient lords are able to make these discoveries themselves. Neither will an honorable person inquire who eats and drinks together, what that man plays, whom this man loves, with whom such a one walks, what discourse they held, who sleeps with whom. They are base and servile natures that busy themselves about these disquisitions. How often have I seen (and worthily) these censors of the family undertaken by some honest rustic and cudgelled thriftily. These are commonly the off-scouring and dregs of men that do these things, or calumniate others; yet I know not truly which is worse, he that maligns all, or that praises all. There is as great a vice in praising, and as frequent, as in detracting.

It pleased your lordship of late to ask my opinion touching the education of your sons, and especially to the advancement of their studies. To which, though I returned somewhat for the present, which rather manifested a will in me than gave any just resolution to the thing propounded, I have upon better cogitation called those aids about me, both of mind and memory, which shall venter my thoughts clearer, if not fuller, to your lord-

ship's demand. I confess, my lord, they will seem but petty and minute things I shall offer to you, being writ for children, and of them. But studies have their infancy as well as creatures. We see in men even the strongest compositions had their beginnings from milk and the cradle; and the wisest tarried sometimes about apting their mouths to letters and syllables. In their education, therefore, the care must be the greater had of their beginnings, to know, examine, and weigh their natures; which, though they be proner in some children to some disciplines, yet are they naturally prompt to taste all by degrees, and with change. For change is a kind of refreshing in studies, and infuseth knowledge by way of recreation. Thence the school itself is called a play or game, and all letters are so best taught to scholars. They should not be affrighted or deterred in their entry, but drawn on with exercise and emulation. A youth should not be made to hate study before he know the causes to love it, or taste the bitterness before the sweet; but called on and allured, entreated and praised: yea, when he deserves it not. For which cause I wish them sent to the best school, and a public, which I think the best. Your lordship, I fear, hardly hears of that, as willing to breed them in your eye and at home, and doubting their manners may be corrupted abroad. They are in more danger in your own family, among ill servants (allowing they be safe in their schoolmaster), than amongst a thousand boys, however immodest. Would we did not spoil our own children, and overthrow their manners ourselves by too much indulgence! To breed them at home is to breed them in a shade, whereas in a school they have the light and heat of the sun. They are used and accustomed to things and men. When they come forth into the commonwealth, they find nothing new, or to seek. They have made their friendships and aids, some to last



their age. They hear what is commanded to others as well as themselves, much approved, much corrected; all which they bring to their own store and use, and learn as much as they hear. Eloquence would be but a poor thing if we should only converse with singulars, speak but man and man together. Therefore I like no private breeding. I would send them where their industry should be daily increased by praise, and that kindled by emulation. It is a good thing to inflame the mind; and though ambition itself be a vice, it is often the cause of great virtue. Give me that wit whom praise excites, glory puts on, or disgrace grieves; he is to be nourished with ambition, pricked forward with honor, checked with reprehension, and never to be suspected of sloth. Though he be given to play, it is a sign of spirit and liveliness, so there be a mean had of their sports and relaxations. And from the rod or ferule I would have them free, as from the menace of them; for it is both deformed and servile.

De stilo, et optimo scribendi genere. — For a man to write well, there are required three necessaries — to read the best authors, observe the best speakers, and much exercise of his own style. In style, to consider what ought to be written, and after what manner, he must first think and excogitate his matter, then choose his words, and examine the weight of either. Then take care, in placing and ranking both matter and words, that the composition be comely; and to do this with diligence and often. No matter how slow the style be at first, so it be labored and accurate; seek the best, and be not glad of the forward conceits, or first words, that offer themselves to us; but judge of what we invent, and order what we approve. Repeat often what we have formerly written; which beside that it helps the consequence, and makes the juncture better, it quickens the heat of imagination, that often cools in the time of setting down, and

gives it new strength, as if it grew lustier by the going back. As we see in the contention of leaping, they jump farthest that fetch their race largest; or, as in throwing a dart or javelin, we force back our arms to make our loose the stronger. Yet, if we have a fair gale of wind, I forbid not the steering out of our sail, so the favor of the gale deceive us not. For all that we invent doth please us in the conception of birth, else we would never set it down. But the safest is to return to our judgment, and handle over again those things the easiness of which might make them justly suspected. So did the best writers in their beginnings; they imposed upon themselves care and industry; they did nothing rashly: they obtained first to write well, and then custom made it easy and a habit. By little and little their matter showed itself to them more plentifully; their words answered, their composition followed; and all, as in a well-ordered family, presented itself in the place. So that the sum of all is, ready writing makes not good writing, but good writing brings on ready writing. Yet, when we think we have got the faculty, it is even then good to resist it, as to give a horse a check sometimes with a bit, which doth not so much stop his course as stir his mettle. Again, whither a man's genius is best able to reach, thither it should more and more contend, lift and dilate itself; as men of low stature raise themselves on their toes, and so ofttimes get even, if not eminent. Besides, as it is fit for grown and able writers to stand of themselves, and work with their own strength, to trust and endeavor by their own faculties, so it is fit for the beginner and learner to study others and the best. For the mind and memory are more sharply exercised in comprehending another man's things than our own; and such as accustom themselves and are familiar with the best authors shall ever and anon find somewhat of them in themselves, and in the expression

of their minds, even when they feel it not, be able to utter something like theirs, which hath an authority above their own. Nay, sometimes it is the reward of a man's study, the praise of quoting another man fitly; and though a man be more prone and able for one kind of writing than another, yet he must exercise all. For as in an instrument, so in style, there must be a harmony and consent of parts.

Præcipiendi modi. — I take this labor in teaching others, that they should not be always to be taught, and I would bring my precepts into practice, for rules are ever of less force and value than experiments; yet with this purpose, rather to show the right way to those that come after, than to detect any that have slipped before by error. And I hope it will be more profitable; for men do more willingly listen, and with more favor, to precept, than reprehension. Among divers opinions of an art, and most of them contrary in themselves, it is hard to make election; and, therefore, though a man cannot invent new things after so many, he may do a welcome work yet to help posterity to judge rightly of the old. But arts and precepts avail nothing, except Nature be beneficial and aiding. And therefore these things are no more written to a dull disposition, than rules of husbandry to a barren soil. No precepts will profit a fool, no more than beauty will the blind, or music the deaf. As we should take care that our style in writing be neither dry nor empty, we should look again it be not winding, or wanton with farfetched descriptions: either is a vice. But that is worse which proceeds out of want, than that which riots out of plenty. The remedy of fruitfulness is easy, but no labor will help the contrary. I will like and praise some things in a young writer which yet, if he continue in, I cannot but justly hate him for the same. There is a time to be given all things for maturity, and that even your country

husbandman can teach, who to a young plant will not put the pruning-knife, because it seems to fear the iron, as not able to admit the scar. No more would I tell a green writer all his faults, lest I should make him grieve and faint, and at last despair. For nothing doth more hurt than to make him so afraid of all things as he can endeavor nothing. Therefore youth ought to be instructed betimes, and in the best things; for we hold those longest we take soonest, as the first scent of a vessel lasts, and the tinct the wool first receives. Therefore a master should temper his own powers, and descend to the other's infirmity. If you pour a glut of water upon a bottle, it receives little of it; but with a funnel, and by degrees, you shall fill many of them, and spill little of your own; to their capacity they will all receive and be full. And as it is fit to read the best authors to youth first, so let them be of the openest and clearest, as Livy before Sallust, Sidney before Donne. And beware of letting them taste Gower or Chaucer at first, lest, falling too much in love with antiquity, and not apprehending the weight, they grow rough and barren in language only. When their judgments are firm, and out of danger, let them read both the old and the new; but no less take heed that their new flowers and sweetness do not as much corrupt as the others' dryness and squalor, if they choose not carefully. Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language; yet I would have him read for his matter, but as Virgil read Ennius. The reading of Homer and Virgil is counselled by Quintilian as the best way of informing youth and confirming man. For, besides that the mind is raised with the height and sublimity of such a verse, it takes spirit from the greatness of the matter, and is tincted with the best things. Tragic and lyric poetry is good too, and comic with the best, if the manners of the reader be once in safety. In the Greek poets, as also in Plautus,

we shall see the economy and disposition of poems better observed than in Terence and the later [qu. Greek poets], who thought the sole grace and virtue of their fable the sticking in of sentences, as ours do the forcing in of jests.

Fals[*a*] *querel*[*a*] *fugiend*[*a*].— We should not protect our sloth with the patronage of difficulty. It is a false quarrel against Nature, that she helps understanding but in a few; when the most part of mankind are inclined by her thither, if they would take the pains, no less than birds to fly, horses to run, etc.: which if they lose, it is through their own sluggishness, and by that means become her prodigies, not her children. I confess, Nature in children is more patient of labor in study than in age; for the sense of the pain, the judgment of the labor is absent: they do not measure what they have done. And it is the thought and consideration that affects us more than the weariness itself. Plato was not content with the learning that Athens could give him, but sailed into Italy for Pythagoras's knowledge: and yet not thinking himself sufficiently informed, went into Egypt, to the priests, and learned their mysteries. He labored, so must we. Many things may be learned together, and performed in one point of time; as musicians exercise their memory, their voice, their fingers, and sometimes their head and feet at once. And so a preacher, in the invention of matter, election of words, composition of gesture, look, pronunciation, motion, useth all these faculties at once. And if we can express this variety together, why should not divers studies, at divers hours, delight, when the variety is able alone to refresh and repair us? As, when a man is weary of writing, to read; and then again of reading, to write. Wherein howsoever we do many things, yet are we, in a sort, still fresh to what we begin; we are recreated with change,

as the stomach is with meats. But some will say this variety breeds confusion, and makes, that either we lose all, or hold no more than the last. Why do we not then persuade husbandmen that they should not till land, help it with marl, lime, and compost? plant hop-gardens, prune trees, look to bee-hives, rear sheep, and all other cattle at once? It is easier to do many things and continue, than to do one thing long.

Præcept[*a*] *element*[*aria*]. — It is not the passing through these learnings that hurts us, but the dwelling and sticking about them. To descend to those extreme anxieties and foolish cavils of grammarians, is able to break a wit in pieces, being a work of manifold misery and vainness, to be *elementarii senes*. Yet even letters are, as it were, the bank of words, and restore themselves to an author as the pawns of language. But talking and eloquence are not the same: to speak, and to speak well, are two things. A fool may talk, but a wise man speaks; and out of the observation, knowledge, and the use of things, many writers perplex their readers and hearers with mere nonsense. Their writings need sunshine. Pure and neat language I love, yet plain and customary. A barbarous phrase hath often made me out of love with a good sense, and doubtful writing hath wracked me beyond my patience. The reason why a poet is said that he ought to have all knowledges is, that he should not be ignorant of the most, especially of those he will handle. And indeed, when the attaining of them is possible, it were a sluggish and base thing to despair; for frequent imitation of anything becomes a habit quickly. If a man should prosecute as much as could be said of everything, his work would find no end.

De orationis dignitate. — Speech is the only benefit man hath to express his excellency of mind above other creatures. It is the instrument of society; therefore

Mercury, who is the president of language, is called *deorum hominumque interpres.* In all speech, words and sense are as the body and the soul. The sense is as the life and soul of language, without which all words are dead. Sense is wrought out of experience, the knowledge of human life and actions, or of the liberal arts, which the Greeks called Ἐγκυκλοπαιδείαν. Words are the people's, yet there is a choice of them to be made; for *verborum delectus origo est eloquentiæ.* They are to be chose according to the persons we make speak, or the things we speak of. Some are of the camp, some of the council-board, some of the shop, some of the sheepcot, some of the pulpit, some of the bar, etc. And herein is seen their elegance and propriety, when we use them fitly and draw them forth to their just strength and nature by way of translation or metaphor. But in this translation we must only serve necessity (*nam temere nihil transfertur a prudenti*) or commodity, which is a kind of necessity: that is, when we either absolutely want a word to express by, and that is necessity; or when we have not so fit a word, and that is commodity; as when we avoid loss by it, and escape obsceneness, and gain in the grace and property which helps significance. Metaphors far-fet hinder to be understood; and affected, lose their grace. Or when the person fetcheth his translations from a wrong place: as if a privy councillor should at the table take his metaphor from a dicing-house, or ordinary, or a vintner's vault; or a justice of peace draw his similitudes from the mathematics; or a divine from a bawdy-house, or taverns; or a gentleman of Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, or the Midland, should fetch all the illustrations to his country neighbors from shipping, and tell them of the main-sheet and the bowline. Metaphors are thus many times deformed, as in him that said, *Castratam morte Africani rempublicam;* and another, *Stercus curiæ Glau-*

ciam, and *Cana nive conspuit Alpes*. All attempts that are new in this kind, are dangerous, and somewhat hard, before they be softened with use. A man coins not a new word without some peril and less fruit; for if it happen to be received, the praise is but moderate; if refused, the scorn is assured. Yet we must adventure; for things at first hard and rough are by use made tender and gentle. It is an honest error that is committed, following great chiefs. Custom is the most certain mistress of language, as the public stamp makes the current money. But we must not be too frequent with the mint, every day coining, nor fetch words from the extreme and utmost ages; since the chief virtue of a style is perspicuity, and nothing so vicious in it as to need an interpreter. Words borrowed of antiquity do lend a kind of majesty to style, and are not without their delight sometimes; for they have the authority of years, and out of their intermission do win themselves a kind of gracelike newness. But the eldest of the present, and newest of the past language, is the best. For what was the ancient language, which some men so dote upon, but the ancient custom? Yet when I name custom, I understand not the vulgar custom; for that were a precept no less dangerous to language than life, if we should speak or live after the manners of the vulgar: but that I call custom of speech, which is the consent of the learned; as custom of life, which is the consent of the good. Virgil was most loving of antiquity; yet how rarely doth he insert *aquai* and *pictai!* Lucretius is scabrous and rough in these; he seeks them: as some do Chaucerisms with us, which were better expunged and banished. Some words are to be culled out for ornament and color, as we gather flowers to straw houses or make garlands; but they are better when they grow to our style as in a meadow, where, though the mere grass and greenness delights, yet

the variety of flowers doth heighten and beautify. Marry, we must not play or riot too much with them, as in paronomasies; nor use too swelling or ill-sounding words, *quæ per salebras, altaque saxa cadunt.* It is true, there is no sound but shall find some lovers, as the bitterest confections are grateful to some palates. Our composition must be more accurate in the beginning and end than in the midst, and in the end more than in the beginning; for through the midst the stream bears us. And this is attained by custom, more than care or diligence. We must express readily and fully, not profusely. There is difference between a liberal and prodigal hand. As it is a great point of art, when our matter requires it, to enlarge and veer out all sail, so to take it in and contract it, is of no less praise, when the argument doth ask it. Either of them hath their fitness in the place. A good man always profits by his endeavor, by his help, yea, when he is absent; nay, when he is dead, by his example and memory: so good authors in their style. A strict and succinct style is that where you can take away nothing without loss, and that loss to be manifest.

Tacitus, The Laconic, Suetonius, Seneca, and Fabianus. — The brief style is that which expresseth much in little; the concise style, which expresseth not enough but leaves somewhat to be understood; the abrupt style, which hath many breaches, and doth not seem to end but fall. The congruent and harmonious fitting of parts in a sentence hath almost the fastening and force of knitting and connection; as in stones well squared, which will rise strong a great way without mortar.

Periods are beautiful when they are not too long; for so they have their strength too, as in a pike or javelin. As we must take the care that our words and sense be clear, so if the obscurity happen through the hearer's or reader's want of understanding, I am not to

answer for them, no more than for their not listening or marking; I must neither find them ears nor mind. But a man cannot put a word so in sense but something about it will illustrate it, if the writer understand himself; for order helps much to perspicuity, as confusion hurts. *Rectitudo lucem adfert; obliquitas et circumductio offuscat.* We should therefore speak what we can the nearest way, so as we keep our gait, not leap; for too short may as well be not let into the memory, as too long not kept in. *Obscuritas offundit tenebras.* Whatsoever loseth the grace and clearness, converts into a riddle; the obscurity is marked, but not the value. That perisheth, and is passed by, like the pearl in the fable. Our style should be like a skein of silk, to be carried and found by the right thread, not ravelled and perplexed: then all is a knot, a heap. There are words that do as much raise a style as others can depress it. Superlation and overmuchness amplifies; it may be above faith, but never above a mean. It was ridiculous in Cestius, when he said of Alexander:

> Fremit oceanus, quasi indignetur, quod terras relinquas.

But propitiously from Virgil:

> Credas innare revulsas
> Cycladas.

He doth not say it was so, but seemed to be so. Although it be somewhat incredible, that is excused before it be spoken. But there are hyperboles which will become one language, that will by no means admit another. As *Eos esse P[opuli] R[omani] exercitus, qui cœlum possint perrumpere*, who would say with us, but a madman? Therefore we must consider in every tongue what is used, what received. Quintilian warns us, that in no kind of translation, or metaphor, or allegory, we

make a turn from what we began; as if we fetch the original of our metaphor from sea and billows, we end not in flames and ashes: it is a most foul inconsequence. Neither must we draw out our allegory too long, lest either we make ourselves obscure, or fall into affectation, which is childish. But why do men depart at all from the right and natural ways of speaking? Sometimes for necessity, when we are driven, or think it fitter, to speak that in obscure words, or by circumstance, which uttered plainly would offend the hearers; or to avoid obsceneness, or sometimes for pleasure, and variety, as travellers turn out of the highway, drawn either by the commodity of a footpath, or the delicacy or freshness of the fields. And all this is called ἐσχηματισμένη, or figured language.

Oratio imago animi. — Language most shows a man: Speak, that I may see thee. It springs out of the most retired and inmost parts of us, and is the image of the parent of it, the mind. No glass renders a man's form or likeness so true as his speech. Nay, it is likened to a man; and as we consider feature and composition in a man, so words in language; in the greatness, aptness, sound structure, and harmony of it.

Structura et statura. — Some men are tall and big, so some language is high and great: *sublimis.* Then the words are chosen, their sound ample, the composition full, the absolution plenteous, and poured out, all grave, sinewy, and strong. Some are little and dwarfs, *humilis, pumila;* so of speech, it is humble and low, the words poor and flat, the members and periods thin and weak, without knitting or number. *Mediocris plana et placida.* — The middle are of a just stature. There the language is plain and pleasing; even without stopping, round without swelling: all well-torned, composed, elegant, and accurate. *Vitiosa oratio, vasta, tumens, enormis, affectata, abjecta.* — The vicious language is vast and gaping, swelling and irregular: when

it contends to be high, full of rock, mountain, and pointedness; as it affects to be low, it is abject, and creeps, full of bogs and holes. And according to their subject these styles vary, and lose their names: for that which is high and lofty, declaring excellent matter, becomes vast and tumorous, speaking of petty and inferior things; so that which was even and apt in a mean and plain subject, will appear most poor and humble in a high argument. Would you not laugh to meet a great councillor of State in a flat cap, with his trunk hose, and a hobby-horse cloak, his gloves under his girdle, and yond haberdasher in a velvet gown, furred with sables? There is a certain latitude in these things, by which we find the degrees.

The next thing to the stature is the figure, *figura*, and feature in language, that is, whether it be round and straight, which consists of short and succinct periods, numerous and polished; or square and firm, which is to have equal and strong parts everywhere answerable, and weighed.

The third is the skin and coat, *cutis sive cortex*, which rests in the well-joining, cementing, and coagmentation of words, *compositio;* whenas it is smooth, gentle, and sweet, like a table upon which you may run your finger without rubs, and your nail cannot find a joint; not horrid, rough, wrinkled, gaping, or chapped.

After these, the flesh, blood, and bones come in question. We say it is a fleshy style, *carnosa*, when there is much periphrasis, and circuit of words; and when with more than enough, it grows fat and corpulent, *adipata, redundans: arvina orationis*, full of suet and tallow. It hath blood and juice when the words are proper and apt, their sound sweet, and the phrase neat and picked — *oratio uncta, et bene pasta.* But where there is redundancy, both the blood and juice are faulty and vicious: — *Redundat sanguine, qua multo plus dicit, quam necesse est.* Juice in language is somewhat less than blood; for if the words

be but becoming and signifying, and the sense gentle, there is juice; but where that wanteth, the language is thin, flagging, poor, starved, scarce covering the bone, *jejuna, macilenta, strigosa,* and shews like stones in a sack. Some men, to avoid redundancy, run into that; and while they strive to have no ill blood or juice, they lose their good. There be some styles, again, that have not less blood, but less flesh and corpulence. These are bony and sinewy, *ossea et nervosa; Ossa habent, et nervos.*

Notæ domini S[anc]t[i] Albani de doctrin[æ] intemperiantia.—It was well noted by the late Lord S[ain]t Albans, that the study of words is the first distemper of learning; vain matter the second; and a third distemper is deceit, or the likeness of truth, imposture held up by credulity. All these are the cobwebs of learning, and to let them grow in us is either sluttish or foolish. Nothing is more ridiculous than to make an author a dictator, as the schools have done Aristotle. The damage is infinite knowledge receives by it; for to many things a man should owe but a temporary belief, and a suspension of his own judgment, not an absolute resignation of himself, or a perpetual captivity. Let Aristotle and others have their dues; but if we can make farther discoveries of truth and fitness than they, why are we envied? Let us beware, while we strive to add, we do not diminish or deface; we may improve, but not augment. By discrediting falsehood, truth grows in request. We must not go about, like men anguished and perplexed for vicious affectation of praise, but calmly study the separation of opinions, find the errors have intervened, awake antiquity, call former times into question; but make no parties with the present, nor follow any fierce undertakers, mingle no matter of doubtful credit with the simplicity of truth; but gently stir the mould about the root of the question, and avoid all digladiations, facility of credit, or

superstitious simplicity, seek the consonancy and concatenation of truth; stoop only to point of necessity, and what leads to convenience. Then make exact animadversion where style hath degenerated, where flourished and thrived in choiceness of phrase, round and clean composition of sentence, sweet falling of the clause, varying an illustration by tropes and figures, weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, and depth of judgment. This is *monte potiri*, to get the hill; for no perfect discovery can be made upon a flat or a level.

De optimo scriptore. — Now that I have informed you in the knowing of these things, let me lead you by the hand a little farther, in the direction of the use, and make you an able writer by practice. The conceits of the mind are pictures of things, and the tongue is the interpreter of those pictures. The order of God's creatures in themselves is not only admirable and glorious, but eloquent: then he who could apprehend the consequence of things in their truth, and utter his apprehensions as truly, were the best writer or speaker. Therefore Cicero said much, when he said, *Dicere recte nemo potest, nisi qui prudenter intelligit.* The shame of speaking unskilfully were small if the tongue only thereby were disgraced; but as the image of a king in his seal ill-represented is not so much a blemish to the wax, or the signet that sealed it, as to the prince it representeth, so disordered speech is not so much injury to the lips that give it forth, as to the disproportion and incoherence of things in themselves, so negligently expressed. Neither can his mind be thought to be in tune, whose words do jar; nor his reason in frame whose sentence is preposterous; nor his elocution clear and perfect, whose utterance breaks itself into fragments and uncertainties. Were it not a dishonor to a mighty prince, to have the majesty of his embassage spoiled by a careless

ambassador? and is it not as great an indignity, that an excellent conceit and capacity, by the indiligence of an idle tongue, should be disgraced? Negligent speech doth not only discredit the person of the speaker, but it discrediteth the opinion of his reason and judgment; it discrediteth the force and uniformity of the matter and substance. If it be so then in words, which fly and escape censure, and where one good phrase begs pardon for many incongruities and faults, how shall he then be thought wise whose penning is thin and shallow? how shall you look for wit from him whose leisure and head, assisted with the examination of his eyes, yield you no life or sharpness in his writing?

De stilo epistolari. — *Inventio.* — In writing there is to be regarded the invention and the fashion. For the invention, that ariseth upon your business; whereof there can be no rules of more certainty, or precepts of better direction given, than conjecture can lay down from the several occasions of men's particular lives and vocations. But sometimes men make baseness of kindness: As "I could not satisfy myself till I had discharged my remembrance, and charged my letters with commendations to you;" or, "My business is no other than to testify my love to you, and to put you in mind of my willingness to do you all kind offices;" or, "Sir, have you leisure to descend to the remembering of that assurance you have long possessed in your servant, and upon your next opportunity make him happy with some commands from you?" or the like; that go a-begging for some meaning, and labor to be delivered of the great burden of nothing. When you have invented, and that your business be matter, and not bare form, or mere ceremony, but some earnest, then are you to proceed to the ordering of it, and digesting the parts, which is had out of two circumstances. One is the understanding of the persons to whom you are to write;

the other is the coherence of your sentence for men's capacity to weigh what will be apprehended with greatest attention or leisure, what next regarded and longed for especially, and what last will leave satisfaction, and, as it were, the sweetest memorial and belief of all that is passed in his understanding whom you write to. For the consequence of sentences, you must be sure that every clause do give the cue one to the other, and be bespoken ere it come. So much for invention and order.

Modus. — 1. *Brevitas.* — Now for fashion: it consists in four things, which are qualities of your style. The first is brevity; for they must not be treatises or discourses (your letters) except it be to learned men. And even among them there is a kind of thrift and saving of words. Therefore you are to examine the clearest passages of your understanding, and through them to convey the sweetest and most significant words you can devise, that you may the easier teach them the readiest way to another man's apprehension, and open their meaning fully, roundly, and distinctly, so as the reader may not think a second view cast away upon your letter. And though respect be a part following this, yet now here, and still I must remember it, if you write to a man, whose estate and sense, as senses, you are familiar with, you may the bolder (to set a task to his brain) venter on a knot. But if to your superior, you are bound to measure him in three farther points: first, with interest in him; secondly, his capacity in your letters; thirdly, his leisure to peruse them. For your interest or favor with him, you are to be the shorter or longer, more familiar or submiss, as he will afford you time. For his capacity, you are to be quicker and fuller of those reaches and glances of wit or learning, as he is able to entertain them. For his leisure, you are commanded to the greater briefness, as his place is of greater

discharges and cares. But with your betters, you are not to put riddles of wit, by being too scarce of words; not to cause the trouble of making breviates by writing too riotous and wastingly. Brevity is attained in matter by avoiding idle compliments, prefaces, protestations, parentheses, superflous circuit of figures and digressions: in the composition, by omitting conjunctions — *not only . . . but also, both the one and the other, whereby it cometh to pass* — and such like idle particles, that have no great business in a serious letter but breaking of sentences, as oftentimes a short journey is made long by unnecessary baits.

But, as Quintilian saith, there is a briefness of the parts sometimes that makes the whole long: "As I came to the stairs, I took a pair of oars, they launched out, rowed apace, I landed at the court gate, I paid my fare, went up to the presence, asked for my lord, I was admitted." All this is but, "I went to the court and spake with my lord." This is the fault of some Latin writers within these last hundred years of my reading, and perhaps Seneca may be appeached of it; I accuse him not.

2. *Perspicuitas.*— The next property of epistolary style is perspicuity, and is oftentimes [lost] by affectation of some wit ill angled for, or ostentation of some hidden terms of art. Few words they darken speech, and so do too many; as well too much light hurteth the eyes, as too little; and a long bill of chancery confounds the understanding as much as the shortest note. Therefore, let not your letters be penned like English statutes, and this is obtained. These vices are eschewed by pondering your business well and distinctly concerning yourself, which is much furthered by uttering your thoughts, and letting them as well come forth to the light and judgment of your own outward senses as to the censure of other men's ears; for that is the reason why many good schol-

ars speak but fumblingly; like a rich man, that for want of particular note and difference can bring you no certain ware readily out of his shop. Hence it is that talkative, shallow men do often content the hearers more than the wise. But this may find a speedier redress in writing, where all comes under the last examination of the eyes. First, mind it well, then pen it, then examine it, then amend it, and you may be in the better hope of doing reasonably well. Under this virtue may come plainness, which is not to be curious in the order as to answer a letter, as if you were to answer to interrogatories. As to the first, first; and to the second, secondly, etc.; but both in method to use (as ladies do in their attire) a diligent kind of negligence, and their sportive freedom; though with some men you are not to jest, or practise tricks; yet the delivery of the most important things may be carried with such a grace, as that it may yield a pleasure to the conceit of the reader. There must be store, though no excess of terms; as if you are to name store, sometimes you may call it choice, sometimes plenty, sometimes copiousness, or variety; but ever so, that the word which comes in lieu have not such difference of meaning as that it may put the sense of the first in hazard to be mistaken. You are not to cast a ring for the perfumed terms of the time, as *accommodation*, *complement*, *spirit*, etc., but use them properly in their place, as others.

3. *Vigor.*— There followeth life and quickness, which is the strength and sinews, as it were, of your penning by pretty sayings, similitudes, and conceits; allusions, some known history, or other common-place, such as are in the *Courtier*, and the second book of Cicero *De Oratore*.

4. *Discretio.* — The last is, respect to discern what fits yourself, him to whom you write, and that which you handle, which is a quality fit to conclude the rest, because

it doth include all. And that must proceed from ripeness of judgment, which, as one truly saith, is gotten by four means, God, nature, diligence, and conversation. Serve the first well, and the rest will serve you.

De Poetica. — We have spoken sufficiently of oratory, let us now make a diversion to poetry. Poetry, in the primogeniture, had many peccant humors, and is made to have more now, through the levity and inconstancy of men's judgments. Whereas, indeed, it is the most prevailing eloquence, and of the most exalted charact. Now the discredits and disgraces are many it hath received through men's study of depravation or calumny; their practice, being to give it diminution of credit, by lessening the professors' estimation, and making the age afraid of their liberty; and the age is grown so tender of her fame, as she calls all writings "aspersions." That is the state word, the phrase of court, Placentia College, which some call Parasites Place, the Inn of Ignorance.

Whilst I name no persons, but deride follies, why should any man confess or betray himself? why doth not that of S[aint] Hierome come into their mind, *Ubi generalis est de vitiis disputatio, ibi nullius esse personæ injuriam?* It is such an inexpiable crime in poets to tax vices generally, and no offence in them, who by their exception confess they have committed them particularly. Are we fallen into those times that we must not

Auriculas teneras mordaci radere vero?

Remedii votum semper verius erat, quam spes. If men may by no means write freely, or speak truth, but when it offends not, why do physicians cure with sharp medicines, or corrosives? is not the same equally lawful in the cure of the mind that is in the cure of the body? Some vices, you will say, are so foul that it is better they should be done than spoken. But they that take offence

where no name, character, or signature doth blazon them seem to me like affected as women, who if they hear anything ill spoken of the ill of their sex, are presently moved, as if the contumely respected their particular; and on the contrary, when they hear good of good women, conclude that it belongs to them all. If I see anything that toucheth me, shall I come forth a betrayer of myself presently? No, if I be wise, I'll dissemble it; if honest, I'll avoid it, lest I publish that on my own forehead which I saw there noted without a title. A man that is on the mending hand will either ingenuously confess or wisely dissemble his disease. And the wise and virtuous will never think anything belongs to themselves that is written, but rejoice that the good are warned not to be such; and the ill to leave to be such. The person offended hath no reason to be offended with the writer, but with himself; and so to declare that properly to belong to him which was so spoken of all men, as it could be no man's several, but his that would wilfully and desperately claim it. It sufficeth I know what kind of persons I displease, men bred in the declining and decay of virtue, betrothed to their own vices; that have abandoned or prostituted their good names; hungry and ambitious of infamy, invested in all deformity, enthralled to ignorance and malice, of a hidden and concealed malignity, and that hold a concomitancy with all evil.

What is a Poet? — A poet, *poeta*, is that which by the Greeks is called κατ' ἐξοχήν, ὁ ποιητής, a maker, or a feigner: his art, an art of imitation or feigning; expressing the life of man in fit measure, numbers, and harmony; according to Aristotle from the word ποιεῖν, which signifies to make or feign. Hence he is called a poet, not he which writeth in measure only, but that feigneth and formeth a fable, and writes things like the truth. For the fable and fiction is, as it were, the form and soul of any poetical work or poem.

What mean you by a Poem? — A poem, *poema*, is not alone any work or composition of the poet's in many or few verses; but even one alone verse sometimes makes a perfect poem. As when Æneas hangs up and consecrates the arms of Abas with this inscription:

Æneas hæc de Danais victoribus arma,

and calls it a poem or *carmen*. Such are those in Martial:

Omnia, Castor, emis: sic fiet, ut omnia vendas,

and —

Pauper videri Cinna vult, et est pauper.

So were Horace his odes called *Carmina*, his lyric songs. And Lucretius designs a whole book in his sixth —

Quod in primo quoque carmine claret.

And anciently all the oracles were called *Carmina;* or whatever sentence was expressed, were it much or little, it was called an Epic, Dramatic, Lyric, Elegiac, or Epigrammatic poem.

But how differs a Poem from what we call a Poesy? — A poem, as I have told you, is the work of the poet; the end and fruit of his labor and study. Poesy, *poesis*, is his skill or craft of making; the very fiction itself, the reason or form of the work. And these three voices differ, as the thing done, the doing, and the doer; the thing feigned, the feigning, and the feigner; so the poem, the poesy, and the poet. Now the poesy is the habit or the art; nay, rather the queen of arts, *artium regina*, which had her original from heaven, received thence from the Hebrews, and had in prime estimation with the Greeks, transmitted to the Latins and all nations that professed civility. The study of it, if we will trust Aristotle, offers to mankind a certain rule and pattern of living well and

happily, disposing us to all civil offices of society. If we will believe Tully, it nourisheth and instructeth our youth, delights our age, adorns our prosperity, comforts our adversity, entertains us at home, keeps us company abroad, travels with us, watches, divides the times of our earnest and sports, shares in our country recesses and recreations; insomuch as the wisest and best learned have thought her the absolute mistress of manners and nearest of kin to virtue. And whereas they entitle philosophy to be a rigid and austere poesy, they have, on the contrary, styled poesy a dulcet and gentle philosophy, which leads on and guides us by the hand to action with a ravishing delight and incredible sweetness. But before we handle the kinds of poems, with their special differences, or make court to the art itself as a mistress, I would lead you to the knowledge of our poet by a perfect information what he is or should be by nature, by exercise, by imitation, by study, and so bring him down through the disciplines of grammar, logic, rhetoric, and the ethics, adding somewhat out of all, peculiar to himself, and worthy of your admittance or reception.

First, we require in our poet or maker (for that title our language affords him elegantly with the Greek) a goodness of natural wit, *ingenium*. For whereas all other arts consist of doctrine and precepts, the poet must be able by nature and instinct to pour out the treasure of his mind, and as Seneca saith, *Aliquando secundum Anacreontem insanire jucundum esse;* by which he understands the poetical rapture. And according to that of Plato, *Frustra poeticas fores sui compos pulsavit.* And of Aristotle, *Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiæ fuit. Nec potest grande aliquid, et supra cæteros loqui, nisi mota mens.* Then it riseth higher, as by a divine instinct, when it contemns common and known conceptions. It utters somewhat above a mortal mouth.

Then it gets aloft and flies away with his rider, whither before it was doubtful to ascend. This the poets understood by their Helicon, Pegasus, or Parnassus; and this made Ovid to boast,

Est deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo:
Sedibus æthereis spiritus ille venit.

And Lipsius to affirm, "*Scio poetam neminem præstantem fuisse, sine parte quadam uberiore divinæ auræ.*" And hence it is that the coming up of good poets (for I mind not *mediocres* or *imos*) is so thin and rare among us. Every beggarly corporation affords the State a mayor or two bailiffs yearly; but *solus rex, aut poeta, non quotannis nascitur.*

To this perfection of nature in our poet we require exercise of those parts, *exercitatio*, and frequent. If his wit will not arrive suddenly at the dignity of the ancients, let him not yet fall out with it, quarrel, or be over hastily angry, offer to turn it away from study in a humor; but come to it again upon better cogitation, try another time with labor. If then it succeed not, cast not away the quills yet, nor scratch the wainscot, beat not the poor desk, but bring all to the forge and file again; torn it anew. There is no statute law of the kingdom bids you be a poet against your will or the first quarter; if it comes in a year or two, it is well. The common rimers pour forth verses, such as they are, *ex tempore;* but there never come[s] from them one sense worth the life of a day. A rimer and a poet are two things. It is said of the incomparable Virgil that he brought forth his verses like a bear, and after formed them with licking. Scaliger the father writes it of him, that he made a quantity of verses in the morning, which afore night he reduced to a less number. But that which Valerius Maximus hath left record[ed] of Euripides, the tragic poet, his answer to

Alcestis, another poet, is as memorable as modest; who, when it was told to Alcestis that Euripides had in three days brought forth but three verses, and those with some difficulty and throes, Alcestis, glorying he could with ease have sent forth a hundred in the space, Euripides roundly replied, "Like enough; but here is the difference: thy verses will not last those three days, mine will to all time." (Which was as much as to tell him he could not write a verse.) I have met many of these rattles that made a noise and buzzed. They had their hum, and no more. Indeed, things wrote with labor deserve to be so read, and will last their age.

The third requisite in our poet or maker is imitation, *imitatio*, to be able to convert the substance or riches of another poet to his own use. To make choice of one excellent man above the rest, and so to follow him till he grow very he, or so like him as the copy may be mistaken for the principal. Not as a creature that swallows what it takes in, crude, raw, or undigested; but that feeds with an appetite, and hath a stomach to concoct, divide, and turn all into nourishment. Not to imitate servilely, as Horace saith, and catch at vices for virtue, but to draw forth out of the best and choicest flowers, with the bee, and turn all into honey, work it into one relish and savor; make our imitation sweet; observe how the best writers have imitated, and follow them: how Virgil and Statius have imitated Homer; how Horace, Archilochus; how Alcæus, and the other lyrics; and so of the rest.

But that which we especially require in him is an exactness of study and multiplicity of reading, *lectio*, which maketh a full man, not alone enabling him to know the history or argument of a poem and to report it, but so to master the matter and style, as to show he knows how to handle, place, or dispose of either with elegancy when need shall be. And not think he can leap forth suddenly

a poet by dreaming he hath been in Parnassus, or having washed his lips, as they say, in Helicon. There goes more to his making than so; for to nature, exercise, imitation, and study art must be added to make all these perfect. *Ars coron* [*at opus*]. And though these challenge to themselves much in the making up of our maker, it is art only can lead him to perfection, and leave him there in possession, as planted by her hand. It is the assertion of Tully, if to an excellent nature there happen an accession or conformation of learning and discipline, there will then remain somewhat noble and singular. For, as Simylus saith in Stobæus, Οὔτε φύσις ἱκανὴ γίνεται τέχνης ἄτερ, οὔτε πᾶν τέχνη μὴ φύσιν κεκτημένη, without art nature can never be perfect; and without nature art can claim no being. But our poet must beware that his study be not only to learn of himself; for he that shall affect to do that confesseth his ever having a fool to his master. He must read many, but ever the best and choicest; those that can teach him anything he must ever account his masters, and reverence. Among whom Horace and he that taught him, Aristotle, deserved to be the first in estimation. Aristotle was the first accurate critic and truest judge, nay, the greatest philosopher the world ever had; for he noted the vices of all knowledges in all creatures, and out of many men's perfections in a science he formed still one art. So he taught us two offices together, how we ought to judge rightly of others, and what we ought to imitate specially in ourselves: but all this in vain without a natural wit and a poetical nature in chief. For no man, so soon as he knows this or reads it, shall be able to write the better; but as he is adapted to it by nature, he shall grow the perfecter writer. He must have civil prudence and eloquence, and that whole, not taken up by snatches or pieces in sentences or remnants when he will handle business or carry counsels, as if he came then out of the declaimer's

gallery, or shadow furnished but out of the body of the State, which commonly is the school of men: *Virorum schola respub[lica]*. The poet is the nearest borderer upon the orator, and expresseth all his virtues, though he be tied more to numbers, is his equal in ornament, and above him in his strengths. And of the kind the comic comes nearest; because in moving the minds of men, and stirring of affections, in which oratory shows, and especially approves her eminence, he chiefly excels. What figure of a body was Lysippus ever able to form with his graver, or Apelles to paint with his pencil, as the comedy to life expresseth so many and various affections of the mind? There shall the spectator see some insulting with joy, others fretting with melancholy, raging with anger, mad with love, boiling with avarice, undone with riot, tortured with expectation, consumed with fear: no perturbation in common life but the orator finds an example of it in the scene. And then for the elegancy of language, read but this inscription on the grave of a comic poet:

> Immortales mortales si fas esset flere,
> Flerent divæ Camœnæ Nævium poetam;
> Itaque postquam est Orcino traditus thesauro,
> Obliti sunt Romæ lingua loqui Latina.

Or that modester testimony given by Lucius Ælius Stilo upon Plautus, who affirmed, *Musas, si Latine loqui voluissent, Plautino sermone fuisse locuturas.*" And that illustrious judgment by the most learned M[arcus] Varro of him, who pronounced him the prince of letters and elegancy in the Roman language.

I am not of that opinion to conclude a poet's liberty within the narrow limits of laws which either the grammarians or philosophers prescribe. For before they found out those laws there were many excellent poets that fulfilled them, amongst whom none more perfect

than Sophocles, who lived a little before Aristotle. Which of the Greeklings durst ever give precepts to Demosthenes? or to Pericles, whom the age surnamed Heavenly, because he seemed to thunder and lighten with his language? or to Alcibiades, who had rather Nature for his guide than Art for his master? But whatsoever nature at any time dictated to the most happy, or long exercise to the most laborious, that the wisdom and learning of Aristotle hath brought into an art, because he understood the causes of things; and what other men did by chance or custom he doth by reason; and not only found out the way not to err, but the short way we should take not to err.

Many things in Euripides hath Aristophanes wittily reprehended, not out of art, but out of truth. For Euripides is sometimes peccant, as he is most times perfect. But judgment when it is greatest, if reason doth not accompany it, is not ever absolute.

To judge of poets is only the faculty of poets; and not of all poets, but the best. *Nemo infelicius de poetis judicavit, quam qui de poetis scripsit.* But some will say critics are a kind of tinkers, that make more faults than they mend ordinarily. See their diseases and those of grammarians. It is true, many bodies are the worse for the meddling with; and the multitude of physicians hath destroyed many sound patients with their wrong practice. But the office of a true critic or censor is, not to throw by a letter anywhere, or damn an innocent syllable, but lay the words together, and amend them; judge sincerely of the author and his matter, which is the sign of solid and perfect learning in a man. Such was Horace, an author of much civility, and, if any one among the heathen can be, the best master both of virtue and wisdom; an excellent and true judge upon cause and reason, not because he thought so, but because he knew so out of use and experience.

Cato, the grammarian, a defender of Lucilius.

Cato Grammaticus, Latina Siren,
Qui solus legit, et facit poetas.

Quintilian of the same heresy, but rejected. Horace his judgment of Chœrillus defended against Joseph Scaliger, and of Laberius against Julius. But chiefly his opinion of Plautus vindicated against many that are offended, and say it is a hard censure upon the parent of all conceit and sharpness. And they wish it had not fallen from so great a master and censor in the art, whose bondmen knew better how to judge of Plautus than any that dare patronise the family of learning in this age; who could not be ignorant of the judgment of the times in which he lived, when poetry and the Latin language were at the height; especially being a man so conversant and inwardly familiar with the censures of great men that did discourse of these things daily amongst themselves. Again, a man so gracious and in high favor with the Emperor, as Augustus often called him his witty manling, for the littleness of his stature; and, if we may trust antiquity, had designed him for a secretary of estate, and invited him to the palace, which he modestly prayed off and refused. Horace did so highly esteem Terence his comedies, as he ascribes the art in comedy to him alone among the Latins, and joins him with Menander.

Now, let us see what may be said for either, to defend Horace his judgment to posterity, and not wholly to condemn Plautus.

* * * * * * *

The parts of a comedy and tragedy. — The parts of a comedy are the same with a tragedy, and the end is partly the same, for they both delight and teach; the comics are called διδάσκαλοι of the Greeks no less than the tragics. Nor is the moving of laughter always the

end of comedy; that is rather a fowling for the people's delight, or their fooling. For, as Aristotle says rightly, the moving of laughter is a fault in comedy, a kind of turpitude that depraves some part of a man's nature without a disease. As a wry face without pain moves laughter, or a deformed vizard, or a rude clown dressed in a lady's habit and using her actions; we dislike and scorn such representations which made the ancient philosophers ever think laughter unfitting in a wise man. And this induced Plato to esteem of Homer as a sacrilegious person, because he presented the gods sometimes laughing. As also it is divinely said of Aristotle, that to seem ridiculous is a part of dishonesty, and foolish. So that what either in the words or sense of an author, or in the language or actions of men, is awry or depraved doth strangely stir mean affections, and provoke for the most part to laughter. And therefore it was clear that all insolent and obscene speeches, jests upon the best men, injuries to particular persons, perverse and sinister sayings and the rather unexpected in the old comedy did move laughter, especially where it did imitate any dishonesty; and scurrility came forth in the place of wit, which, who understands the nature and genius of laughter cannot but perfectly know.

Of which Aristophanes affords an ample harvest, having not only outgone Plautus or any other in that kind, but expressed all the moods and figures of what is ridiculous oddly. In short, as vinegar is not accounted good until the wine be corrupted, so jests that are true and natural seldom raise laughter with the beast, the multitude. They love nothing that is right and proper. The farther it runs from reason or possibility with them the better it is. What could have made them laugh, like to see Socrates presented, that example of all good life, honesty, and virtue, to have him hoisted up with a pulley,

and there play the philosopher in a basket; measure how many foot a flea could skip geometrically, by a just scale, and edify the people from the engine. This was theatrical wit, right stage jesting, and relishing a playhouse, invented for scorn and laughter; whereas, if it had savored of equity, truth, perspicuity, and candor, to have tasten a wise or a learned palate, — spit it out presently! this is bitter and profitable: this instructs and would inform us! what need we know any thing, that are nobly born, more than a horse-race, or a hunting-match, our day to break with citizens, and such innate mysteries? This is truly leaping from the stage to the tumbril again, reducing all wit to the original dung-cart.

Of the magnitude and compass of any fable, epic or dramatic.

What the measure of a fable is. — The fable or plot of a poem defined. — The epic fable, differing from the dramatic. — To the resolving of this question we must first agree in the definition of the fable. The fable is called the imitation of one entire and perfect action, whose parts are so joined and knit together, as nothing in the structure can be changed, or taken away, without impairing or troubling the whole, of which there is a proportionable magnitude in the members. As for example: if a man would build a house, he would first appoint a place to build it in, which he would define within certain bounds. So in the constitution of a poem, the action is aimed at by the poet, which answers place in a building, and that action hath his largeness, compass, and proportion. But as a court or king's palace requires other dimensions than a private house, so the epic asks a magnitude from other poems, since what is place in the one is action in the other; the difference is in space.

So that by this definition we conclude the fable to be the imitation of one perfect and entire action, as one perfect and entire place is required to a building. By perfect, we understand that to which nothing is wanting, as place to the building that is raised, and action to the fable that is formed. It is perfect, perhaps not for a court or king's palace, which requires a greater ground, but for the structure we would raise; so the space of the action may not prove large enough for the epic fable, yet be perfect for the dramatic, and whole.

What we understand by whole.—Whole we call that, and perfect, which hath a beginning, a midst, and an end. So the place of any building may be whole and entire for that work, though too little for a palace. As to a tragedy or a comedy, the action may be convenient and perfect that would not fit an epic poem in magnitude. So a lion is a perfect creature in himself, though it be less than that of a buffalo or a rhinocerote. They differ but in specie: either in the kind is absolute; both have their parts, and either the whole. Therefore, as in every body so in every action, which is the subject of a just work, there is required a certain proportionable greatness, neither too vast nor too minute. For that which happens to the eyes when we behold a body, the same happens to the memory when we contemplate an action. I look upon a monstrous giant, as Tityus, whose body covered nine acres of land, and mine eye sticks upon every part; the whole that consists of those parts will never be taken in at one entire view. So in a fable, if the action be too great, we can never comprehend the whole together in our imagination. Again, if it be too little, there ariseth no pleasure out of the object; it affords the view no stay; it is beheld, and vanisheth at once. As if we should look upon an ant or pismire, the parts fly the sight, and the whole considered is almost nothing. The same happens in action, which

is the object of memory, as the body is of sight. Too vast oppresseth the eyes, and exceeds the memory; too little scarce admits either.

What the utmost bound of a fable.—Now in every action it behoves the poet to know which is his utmost bound, how far with fitness and a necessary proportion he may produce and determine it; that is, till either good fortune change into the worse, or the worse into the better. For as a body without proportion cannot be goodly, no more can the action, either in comedy or tragedy, without his fit bounds. And every bound, for the nature of the subject, is esteemed the best that is largest, till it can increase no more; so it behoves the action in tragedy or comedy to be let grow till the necessity ask a conclusion; wherein two things are to be considered: first, that it exceed not the compass of one day; next, that there be place left for digression and art. For the episodes and digressions in a fable are the same that household stuff and other furniture are in a house. And so far form the measure and extent of a fable dramatic.

What [*is meant*] *by one and entire.*—Now that it should be one and entire. One is considerable two ways; either as it is only separate, and by itself, or as being composed of many parts, it begins to be one as those parts grow or are wrought together. That it should be one the first way alone, and by itself, no man that hath tasted letters ever would say, especially having required before a just magnitude and equal proportion of the parts in themselves. Neither of which can possibly be, if the action be single and separate, not composed of parts, which laid together in themselves, with an equal and fitting proportion, tend to the same end; which thing out of antiquity itself hath deceived many, and more this day it doth deceive.

So many there be of old that have thought the action

of one man to be one, as of Hercules, Theseus, Achilles, Ulysses, and other heroes; which is both foolish and false, since by one and the same person many things may be severally done which cannot fitly be referred or joined to the same end: which not only the excellent tragic poets, but the best masters of the epic, Homer and Virgil, saw. For though the argument of an epic poem be far more diffused and poured out than that of tragedy, yet Virgil, writing of Æneas, hath pretermitted many things. He neither tells how he was born, how brought up, how he fought with Achilles, how he was snatched out of the battle by Venus; but that one thing, how he came into Italy, he prosecutes in twelve books. The rest of his journey, his error by sea, the sack of Troy, are put not as the argument of the work, but episodes of the argument. So Homer laid by many things of Ulysses, and handled no more than he saw tended to one and the same end.

Contrary to which, and foolishly, those poets did, whom the philosopher taxeth, of whom one gathered all the actions of Theseus, another put all the labors of Hercules in one work. So did he whom Juvenal mentions in the beginning, "hoarse Codrus," that recited a volume compiled, which he called his *Theseid*, not yet finished, to the great trouble both of his hearers and himself; amongst which there were many parts had no coherence nor kindred one with other, so far they were from being one action, one fable. For as a house, consisting of divers materials, becomes one structure and one dwelling, so an action, composed of divers parts, may become one fable, epic or dramatic. For example, in a tragedy, look upon Sophocles his *Ajax:* Ajax, deprived of Achilles's armor, which he hoped from the suffrage of the Greeks, disdains, and, growing impatient of the injury, rageth, and turns mad. In that humor he doth many senseless things, and at last falls upon the Grecian

flock and kills a great ram for Ulysses: returning to his sense, he grows ashamed of the scorn, and kills himself; and is by the chiefs of the Greeks forbidden burial. These things agree and hang together, not as they were done, but as seeming to be done, which made the action whole, entire, and absolute.

The conclusion concerning the whole, and the parts. — Which are episodes — For the whole, as it consisteth of parts, so without all the parts it is not the whole; and to make it absolute is required not only the parts, but such parts as are true. For a part of the whole was true, which, if you take away, you either change the whole or it is not the whole. For if it be such a part, as, being present or absent, nothing concerns the whole, it cannot be called a part of the whole; and such are the episodes, of which hereafter. For the present here is one example: the single combat of Ajax with Hector, as it is at large described in Homer, nothing belongs to this Ajax of Sophocles.

* * * * * * *

You admire no poems but such as run like a brewer's cart upon the stones, hobbling:

> Et, quæ per salebras, altaque saxa cadunt,
> Actius et quidquid Pacuviusque vomunt.
> Attonitusque legis terraï, frugiferaï.

NOTES.

1. *Tecum habita*, etc. Persius, *Satires*, 4. 52. Thus translated by Gifford:

> To your own breast in quest of worth repair,
> And blush to find how poor a stock is there.

2 1. *Silva rerum et sententiarum*, etc. *Silva*, the raw material of facts and thoughts, ὕλη, wood, as it were, so called from the multiplicity and variety of the matter contained therein. For just as we are commonly wont to call a vast number of trees growing indiscriminately "a wood" (timber); so also did the ancients call those of their books, in which were collected at random articles upon various and diverse topics, a wood (timber-trees). Cf. Jonson's *Underwoods. Preface to the Reader:* "With the same leave the ancients called that kind of body *sylva*, or ὕλη, in which there were works of divers nature and matter congested; as the multitude called timber-trees promiscuously growing, a wood or forest, so I am bold to entitle these lesser poems of later growth by this of *Underwood*, out of the analogy they hold to the *Forest* in my former book, and no otherwise." See also *The Alchemist*, 3. 2: "The whole family or wood of you." *Sylva* is often opposed to *supellex*. See the quotation from Persius, above, and the following of Bacon: "Minds empty and unfraught with matter, and which have not gathered that which Cicero (*Orator*, 80) calleth *sylva* and *supellex* (stuff and variety) to begin with those arts," etc. (*Advancement of Learning*, Bk. II. p. 72, ed. 1819).

3 5. *As*. That. *As* is used for *that* after *so* in Elizabethan English. Cf. 13 32, 26 1, 27 8, 34 18, 36 25, 36 28, 37 25, 41 26, 49 29, 57 6, 69 20, 72 15, 81 24, and 83 21; and see *Shakespeare Grammar*, § 109. Occasionally Jonson uses *so — that*, as in modern English, 7 10 and 72 34; and even the pleonastic *as that*, but there after *such*, 71 17.

3 14. *Casus*. Change.

3 18. *Consilia*. Advice. counsel.

3 19. *No man . . . but may.* Note the omission of the subject, no unusual practice where the subject cannot be mistaken. See *Sh. Gram.* § 399.

4 4. *Taught by himself.* αὐτοδίδακτος, foot-note of the folio of 1642.

4 4. *Had a fool to his master.* Cf. 13 17, 38 10, 69 26, and 78 17. See *Sh. Gram.* § 189.

4 5. *Fama.* Reputation.

4 9. *Emergent.* Capable of extricating himself.

4 10. *Negotia.* Business.

4 12. *Our too much haste.* Note the order. See *Sh. Gram.* § 51. *Much* is used as an adjective after a pronomial adjective.

4 15. *Amor patriæ.* Love of the fatherland. A literal translation of Euripides, *Phœnissæ*, 358–361, ed. Didot.

ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχει
Πατρίδος ἐρᾶν ἅπαντας· ὃς δ' ἄλλως λέγει,
Λόγοισι χαίρει, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ἐκεῖσ' ἔχει.

Mr. Swinburne has quoted this beautiful passage, as Jonson translates it, with the prefatory words, "The ring of what follows is pure gold" (*A Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 131). He has also suggested an emendation in the insertion of the word "not" before the final word; *i.e.* "his heart is [not] there." It will be noticed that the emendation is unnecessary, in view of the original. Cf. a later passage of Mr. Swinburne's (p. 179), in which he falls afoul of Jonson for the statement that Euripides "is sometimes peccant, as he is most truly perfect." Mr. Swinburne's words are: "The perfection of such shapeless and soulless abortions as the *Phœnissæ* and the *Hercules Furens* is about as demonstrable as the lack of art which Ben Jonson regretted and condemned in the author of *Hamlet* and *Othello*." It may well be doubted if Mr. Swinburne has even been convicted of praising Euripides before.

4 15. *There is a necessity all men should love*, etc. Note the omission of the relative. Cf. 7 14, 18 11, 19 29, 19 33, 20 6, 23 25, 24 6, 34 19, 37 23, etc.; and see *Sh. Gram.* § 244.

4 18. *Ingenia.* Innate dispositions.

4 20. *Attempting.* Making trial of.

4 21. *Applausus.* Praise. A literal translation from Paterculus, *Hist. Rom.* 2. 92: *Audita visis laudamus libentius*, etc. (Whalley).

4 24. *Overlaid.* Burdened, oppressed.

4 25. *Opinio.* Opinion; in modern English, reputation. See 6 3, 25 27; and cf. *1 Hen. IV.* 5. 4. 48; and *Othello*, 2. 3. 195.

4 32. *Impostura.* Imposture.

5 4. *Jactura vitæ.* A waste or casting away of life.

5 9. *Puritanus hypocrita est*, etc. A Puritan is a heretical hypocrite, whom conceit in his own perspicacity has disturbed in the balance of his mind, by which he flatters himself that he, together with a few others, has detected certain errors in the dogmas of the Church, whence, driven by a sacred fury, he madly fights against civil authority in the belief that thus he is rendering obedience to God.

5 15. *Mutua auxilia.* Mutual assistance. Translated by Jonson, *consociation*, intimate fellowship, a word since superseded by *association*. Cf. Jeremy Taylor, *Works*, ed. 1835, I. p. 220: "To fight a duel is . . . a consociation of many of the worst acts."

5 18. *And whom his favor breeds.* Cf. 14 6.

5 25. *Cognit[io] universi.* Jonson's translation is "the knowledge of all nature"; *i.e.* of the whole world.

6 1. *Consiliarii adjunct[i], probitas, sapientia.* The joint counsellors, honesty and wisdom. Cf. Ben Jonson's *Conversations with Drummond* (*Sh. Soc. Pub.* p. 37): "Of all styles he loved most to be named Honest, and hath of that ane hundreth letters so naming him."

6 3. *Opinion.* Cf. 4 25, 25 27.

6 7. *Vita recta.* An upright life.

6 8. *Cozenage.* Cajolery. The folio reads *coosinage*. Cf. 47 2.

6 11. *Obsequentia, humanitas, solicitudo.* Complaisance, civility or kindliness, care or circumspection. Marginal notes in the folio.

6 19. *Dat nox consilium.* Night gives counsel. Cf. Bacon, *Essays*, 20, *of Counsel: In nocte consilium*; and Reynold's note thereon in his ed. of the *Essays* (Macmillan, 1891, p. 151), where are references to the Greek original, Ἐν νυκτὶ βουλή; Gaisford, *Paræmiographi Græci*, etc. See also a note of Erasmus on this head: *Adagia, sub titulo, In nocte consilium*, 2. 2. 43; and finally the French proverb, "*La nuit porte conseil.*"

6 20. *Extemporal.* Unpremeditated. Cf. "Some extemporal god of rime," LLL. 1. 2. 189.

6 26. *Modestia, parrhasia.* Marginal note in the folio. *Parrhasia* is ingenuousness, openness of speech.

6 28. *Empire.* Governing influence; here almost show of power. Cf. *The Magnetic Lady*, 3. 4.

6 34. *Absit, o rex*, etc. Plutarch, *de Alex. s. virt. s. fort.* (*Oratio*, 2. 1): "Far be it from thee, O king, to know these things better than I." Bacon includes this anecdote among his *Apothegms*, 254. It will be noticed that Jonson inaccurately refers the story to Alexander in

place of his father, Philip. The reference of the folio, *in vita Alex.*, is also incorrect.

7 1. *Perspicuitas, elegantia.* Clearness, grace.

7 3. *Discipline.* Learning.

7 6. *Braky.* Abounding in brambles.

7 9. *Natura non effœta.* Translated in the text.

7 14. *Non nimium credendum*, etc. Freely: Set not too much store on antiquity. Cf. Jonson's opinion of the authority of Aristotle, 66 16–24.

7 14. *Nothing can conduce.* Cf. 4 17, 18 11, 20 6, 23 25, 24 6, 34 19, 37 23.

7 24. *Non domini nostri*, etc. They were not our lords, but our leaders.

7 26. *Several.* Separate possession. Cf. 73 18.

7 26. *Patet omnibus*, etc. Translated by Jonson.

7 27. *Multum ex illa*, etc. Much of it yet remains for those who shall be hereafter. The folio reads *relicta* for *relictum*, which Mr. Swinburne corrects.

7 28. *Dissentire licet; sed cum ratione.* Dissent if you will, but with reason.

7 30. *Look up at.* Look up to, in modern English.

7 31. *Presently.* At once. Cf. 18 27, 73 3, 83 7; *Othello*, 5. 2. 52:

> *Desdemona.* Yes, but not yet to die.
> *Othello.* O yes, presently;

and North's *Plutarch*, 1016 e: "Setting forth to the reader, not as a battle already fought, but presently a-fighting."

7 35. *Nulla ars simul*, etc. No art is completed as soon as discovered.

8 4. *Evict.* Mr. Swinburne explains: "In modern English — if the text is not corrupt — as the comparison or confutation of theirs with mine shall elicit" (*A Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 133). Evict in the sense evince, prove, is, however, not unusual. Cf. "The main question is evicted" (Jeremy Taylor, *Works*, ed. 1835, II. p. 156).

8 4. *Fautor.* A favorer, patron, or abettor. Cf. "The pope who is the *fautor* or rather the padrone of all the saints" (Scott's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, reprint of ed. of 1584, p. 443).

8 7. *It profits not me.* Note the order, and cf. 36 1, 47 18.

8 9. *Non mihi cedendum*, etc. Not that submission is due to me, but to truth.

8 11. *Scientiæ liberales*, etc. Translated in the text.

8 22. *Wits.* Mental powers. Jonson uses the word in the plural, 10 14, 16 5, 23 33, 24 8; in the singular, 30 23 and 54 11; and in its modern sense, 68 11.

8 22. *There are.* The folio reads *they* are.

8 23. *Caract.* Carat, the usual Elizabethan form of the word. Cf. *Every Man in his Humor*, 3. 2.

8 27. *Honesta ambitio.* Honorable ambition.

8 29. *Worthy of love.* The folio reads *leave* for *love.*

8 31. *Maritus improbus.* A shameless husband.

8 31. *Delicate.* Choice, agreeable. Cf. 44 22.

9 1. *Afflictio pia magistra.* Freely, but sufficiently translated in the text.

9 3. *Deploratis facilis descensus Averni.* To the lost, easy is the descent into hell. An adaptation of Virgil's well-known words: "*facilis descensus Averno*" (*Æneid*, 6. 126).

9 8. *Ægidius cursu superat.* Ægidius wins in the race, or excels at running. Ægidius was a Roman commander in Gaul under Majorian (457–461 A.D.). He is described by Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, chap. 36) as one "who equalled or at least imitated the heroes of ancient Rome." The allusion of the text is not clear.

9 9. *Footman.* A runner attending a person of rank, to go before and assist on bad roads or in crossing streams (Halliwell).

9 10. *Prodigo nummi nauci.* Money is worthless to a spendthrift.

9 13. *Munda et sordida.* Bedizened but filthy. Cf. the proverb: The more women look in their glasses, the less they look to their houses (Ray's *English Proverbs*, p. 34, and *Outlandish Proverbs*, No. 250, London, 1640).

9 18. *Latro sesquipedalis.* A thief and a half. Cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 9. 7: *Sesquipedalia verba*, foot and a half foot words.

9 18. *The thief that had a longing.* The folio gives the marginal note, "with a great belly"; *i.e.* with a great appetite. Cf. a similar and more common use of the word "stomach" in the same sense. Bettris, sent to invite Benedick to supper, plays upon the word "stomach," appetite or courage (*Much Ado*, 2. 3. 265).

9 20. *Like the German lord.* The folio gives as marginal note, *Com*[*es*] *de Schortenhien*, which Gifford, on I know not what authority, corrects to *Schertenhein*; Cunningham reads *Schortenhein.*

9 22. *Herborough* or *harborough.* A place of temporary residence, an inn or lodging.

9 27. *Calumniæ fructus.* The fruit of calumny.

9 34. *A mere impertinent.* The folio has the marginal note *impertinens.*

10 5. *Bellum scribentium.* War of writers. Cf. "How do the grammarians hack and slash for the genitive case in Jupiter! How do they break their own pates to salve that of Priscian! . . . Yea, even among wiser militants, how many wounds have been given, and credits slain, for the poor victory of an opinion or the beggarly conquest of a distinction! Scholars are men of peace; they bear no arms, but their tongues are sharper than Actius, his razor; their pens carry farther, and give louder report than thunder: I had rather stand the shock of a basilisco, than the fury of a merciless pen" (Sir Thomas Brown, *Religio Medici*, ed. Macmillan, p. 98).

10 11. *Sed meliore in omne*, etc. But I have enjoyed a mind and disposition in all respects better than my fortune.

10 13. *Pingue solum lassat*, etc. Rich soil wearies, but labor itself is delightful.

10 14. *Differentia inter doctos et sciolos.* The difference between the learned and smatterers.

10 14. *Wits.* Cf. 8 22, 16 5, 54 11, and 68 11.

10 21. *Welt.* A hem, or border; an edge made by folding cloth over a cord. Still in use in some parts of the United States.

10 23. *Impostorum fucus.* The pretence of impostors.

10 28. *Icuncularum motio.* Puppet play.

10 29. *Et sordet gesticulatio.* And the gestures become despicable.

10 31. *Principes et administri.* Princes and their ministers.

11 4. *Finis expectandus*, etc. Freely: We should await the outcome of the career of each man, for man is a being most subject to change. Possibly in allusion to the well-known story of Solon's reply to Crœsus, that no man can be considered happy until his death. See Herodotus, *Clio*, 30 *et seqq.*

11 7. *Scitum Hispanicum.* A Spanish maxim.

11 7. *A quick; i.e.* a current saying.

11 8. *Artes inter hæredes non dividi.* A man's accomplishments are not divisible amongst his heirs.

11 14. *Non nova res livor.* Translated in the words immediately following. Mr. Swinburne considers the next five sections a connected essay on envy and calumny, and adds, "for weight, point, and vigor, it would hardly be possible to overpraise it" (*A Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 136).

11 17. *Quorum odium virtute relicta placet.* Whom it gives satis-

faction to hate, abandoning virtue. I have purposely preserved the ambiguity of the words *quorum odium*.

11 30. *Nil gratius protervo lib*[*ro*]. Nothing is more delightful than a racy book.

12 4. *Jam litteræ sordent.* Nowadays literature is despised; literally, filthy.

12 4. *He is upbraidingly called a poet.* Cf. 22 19 and 44 10. As to this disrepute of poetry, see the *Defense of Poesie* (ed. Cook, p. 45): "And now that an over-faint quietness should seem to strew the house for poets, they are almost in as good reputation as mountebanks at Venice." See also Puttenham: "For as well poets as poesy are despised, and the name become of honorable, infamous, subject to scorn and derision" (*Arte of English Poesie*, 1. 8).

12 10. *Pastus hodier*[*ni*] *ingen*[*ii*]. "The diet of the times," in the author's words. Note the personal element of these five extracts on calumny, breaking forth at last into the personal pronoun: "but they are rather enemies of my fame than me, these barkers."

12 12. *Gallants cannot sleep else.* Cf. Juvenal, *Satire*, 3. 281: Ergo non aliter poterit dormire; and *Proverbs*, 4. 16.

12 24. *Sed seculi morbus.* Translated in the text.

12 28. *Her dotage is now broke forth.* For this use of *be* instead of the modern English *have*, see *Sh. Gram.* § 295.

12 31. *Alastoris malitia.* The malice of Alastor, an avenging deity or genius. Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Marius* (Clough, III. p. 54, note): "Marius boasted that he had brought upon him [Metellus] an avenging genius, an Alastor; *i.e.* had put him, as it were, within the range of punishment divinely attaching to particular acts, however committed." See also *Life of Cicero* (*ibid.* V. p. 86), where ἀλάστωρ is translated "divine vengeance." Shelley's use of the word as the "spirit of solitude" is very different.

13 4. *Mali choragi fuere.* They were bad *choragi; i.e.* they discharged their duties unworthily. The *choragus*, or *choregus*, was one who discharged the duties of the *choregia*, one of the most expensive of the ordinary liturgies at Athens. These duties consisted chiefly in providing the chorus, their costumes, and their trainer, and keeping all during the period of rehearsal.

13 9. *Meretricious.* The folio reads *meritorious*, a palpable misprint, corrected by Gifford.

13 9. *But these.* As to these; a classical construction.

13 12. *That an Elephant* [*1*]*630.* The folio omits the numeral *1*.

13 14. *Cast.* Allotment, share.

13 15. *Canary sack.* A strong, sweet wine. "Sack if it be Seres (as it should be), you shall know it by the mark of a cork, burned on one side of the bung, and they be ever full gage, and so are other sacks, and the longer they lye, the better they be. . . . Your strong sacks are of the Islands of the Canaries and of Malligo" (Needham's *English Housewife*, quoted in Drake, *Sh. and his Times*, II. p. 131, *et seqq.*). Sack is almost as constantly associated with the name of Jonson as with that of Falstaff, not, however, with the same justice. See, however, Jonson's Epigram, 101, *Inviting a Friend to Supper*, in which he promises him

A pure cup of rich Canary wine,
Which is the Mermaid's now, but shall be mine.

13 17. *A Spanish boy to his interpreter.* Cf. 4 4, 38 10, 69 26, 78 17.

13 18. *Archy, the principal fool of state.* The real name of this court jester was Archibald Armstrong. He appears to have been in high repute with Charles I. as prince and king. Jonson alludes to Archy again in his *Staple of Newes*, 3. 1, and in *Neptune's Triumph*, a masque in celebration of the return of Prince Charles from Ireland in 1624. Archy seems at times to have transcended the privileges of his class, as the records of the Council, March 11, 1637–8, show that "Archibald Armstrong, the king's fool, for certain scandalous words of a high nature, spoken by him against the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his grace, shall have his coat pulled over his head, and be discharged the king's service and banished the court" (Rushworth, Pt. II. vol. I. p. 471). Muckle John, Archy's successor, was perhaps the last regular personage of the kind (Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, II. p. 308).

13 21. *Lingua sapientis potius quam loquentis optanda.* The wise man's tongue should be desired rather than the gabbler's.

13 25. *That there was a wall*, etc. Cf. Plutarch, *Moralia*, *de Garrulitate*, 3, thus translated by Goodwin: "And yet there is no member of human bodies that nature has so strongly enclosed within a double fortification as the tongue, entrenched within a barricade of sharp teeth, to the end that, if it refuses to obey and keep silent when reason 'presses the glittering reins' within, we should fix our teeth in it till the blood comes rather than suffer inordinate and unseasonable din" (IV. p. 223).

13 30. *But you shall see; i.e.* may or will see. Applied to that which is of common occurrence, or so evident that it cannot but be seen (*Sh. Gram.* § 315, p. 224, *sub fin.*). Cf. 29 11 and 79 13.

13 31. *Abound with words.* See *Sh. Gram.* § 193.

13 32. *As.* That. See 3 5, and references there.

14 3. *Bedlam-like.* The folio reads *Bet'lem*, the intermediate form between Bethlehem and Bedlam. Cf. *Best Plays of Thomas Dekker*, *Mermaid* Series, p. 173.

14 6. *Whom the disease . . . he.* Note the Latin construction in the omission of the demonstrative before *whom*. See *Sh. Gram.* §§ 242, 243, and cf. 5 18.

14 8. *He will hire men to hear him.* A common practice in Rome. Cf. Quintilian's allusion: "They [common speakers] cannot endure the awful silence of attention, but court the shouts of the mob that is either hired to applaud them, or that stands round the tribunal by accident" (*de Institutione Oratoria*, 4. 2. 37; and Pliny, *Epistles*, 6. 2).

14 12. *Homer's Thersites. Iliad*, 2. 211, *et seqq.* "Ill-favored beyond all men that came to Ilios."

14 12. Ἀμετροεπής, ἀκριτόμυθος. Immoderate talker, senseless babbler. Cf. *Iliad*, 2. 212 and 246. Homer uses the former word as descriptive of Thersites, and puts the second into the mouth of Ulysses, in his rebuke of the heroic representative of blatant democracy.

14 13. *Loquax magis, quam facundus.* Clamorous rather than eloquent. An expression applied by Quintilian to one M. Acilius Palicanus (*Inst.* 4. 2. 2).

14 14. *Satis loquentiæ, sapientiæ parum.* Abundance of talk, but little wisdom (Sallust, *Oratio C. Cottæ Consulis ad Populum*, *Fragmenta*, 6). Both quotations will also be found in A. Gellius, 1. 15. 4 and 7.

14 15. Γλώσσης τοι θησαυρός, etc. Repeated in the following Latin, Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, 719. Thus translated: "The best treasure, look you, among men, is a sparing tongue, and the most grace is that of one which moves measuredly."

14 19. At this point the folio has the following marginal references: Homeri Ulysses, Pindari [*i.e.* Spinthari] Epaminond[as], Demacatus [*i.e.* Demaratus] Plutarchi, Vid[e] Zeuxidis pict[oris] serm[onem] ad Megabizum, Plutarch. I can find no remark of Zeuxis, such as any of those contained in the text, either in Plutarch or elsewhere. It will be noticed that the references to the text are complete without this one. This portion of the text is peculiarly corrupt.

14 19. *Ulysses . . . a long-thinking man.* Cf. ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς τὸν λογιώτατον Ὀδυσσέα σιωπηλότατον πεποίηκε (Plutarch, *de Garrulitate*, 8); and see *Iliad*, 3. 216, *et seqq.*: "But whenever Odysseus full of wiles rose up, he stood and looked down with eyes fixed upon the ground, and waved not his staff either backwards or forwards; but he held it

stiff, like a man of no understanding. One would deem him to be churlish, and naught but a fool. But when he uttered his great voice from his chest, then could no mortal man contend with Odysseus; then marvelled we not thus to behold Odysseus's aspect."

14 20. *Epaminondas is celebrated by Spintharus.* The folio reading is *by Pindar*. Epaminondas, the famous Theban general and statesman, who, with his friend Pelopidas, raised Thebes to the height of her power, after freeing her from the Spartan supremacy. He was killed at the battle of Mantineia in 362. There is an error in the folio, as Pindar is supposed to have died in 442, some thirty years prior to the probable birth of Epaminondas. Jonson must have had the following passage of Plutarch before him (*De Gen. Socrat.* 23), thus freely translated by Grote (*Hist. of Greece* X. p. 167): "His [Epaminondas's] patience as a listener, and his indifference to showy talk on his own account, were so remarkable that *Spintharus* (the father of Aristoxenus), after numerous conversations with him, affirmed that he never met with any one who understood more, and talked less." I am indebted to my friend and colleague, Professor Lamberton, for the suggestion that the word *Pindar* (Πίνδαρος) is a misprint for *Spinthar* (Σπίνθαρος), a mistake which may have arisen either in manuscript or in the printer's office; and one the more likely to occur in Jonson's day from the compound Greek characters then in use. This error was noticed, but not explained, in a note entitled, *Rare Ben Jonson caught tripping* (*Notes and Queries*, Series 5, vi. pp. 346 and 398).

14 22. *Demaratus.* The folio reads *Demarcatus*, a misprint, followed by all the editors. Demaratus was a Corinthian, friend of Philip and Alexander. The story is told by Plutarch (*Moralia*, *Apophthegmata Laconica*, Demaratus, 1). The saying is also attributed to Bias (*de Garrulitate*, 4).

14 22. *Demaratus, when on the bench he.* See *Sh. Gram.* § 242: "When a proper name is separated by an intervening clause from its verb, then for clearness the redundant pronoun is often inserted." Cf. 31 16.

14 27. *Dum tacet indoctus*, etc. As long as the ignoramus holds his tongue, he may be accounted wise, for he covers the diseases of his mind by his silence. Referable to the Greek aphorism: πᾶς τις ἀπαίδευτος φρονιμώτατός ἐστι σιωπῶν: Whoso is unlearned, is wisest being silent.

14 29. *Zeno of Citium* flourished between 350 and 258. He was the founder of the Stoic school of philosophy, and resided mostly at Athens, where he was highly honored. This anecdote is related by

Plutarch (*de Garrulitate*, 4). Lord Bacon relates the same, slightly varied, in his *Apothegms*, 230.

14 30. *Who being invited.* Cf. *Sh. Gram.* § 263.

15 3. *That knew to be.* Note omission of *how*.

15 7. *Argute dictum.* A witty saying.

15 9. *This man might have been a counsellor of state*, etc. Cf. Congreve's treatment of the same subject (Anderson's *British Poets*, vii. p. 557):

> When Lesbia first I saw so heavenly fair,
> With eyes so bright, and with that awful air,
> I thought my heart, which durst so high aspire,
> As bold as his who snatched celestial fire.
> But soon as e'er the beauteous idiot spoke,
> Forth from her coral lips such folly broke,
> Like balm the trickling nonsense healed my wound,
> And what her eyes enthralled her tongue unbound.

15 11. Ἐχεμυθία. Taciturnity. On the general topic, see Plutarch (*de Garrulitate*), whence, as has been seen, Jonson derives several of the quotations and allusions of his text. Pythagoras is spoken of in *Pseudo-Plutarchea* (ed. Didot, p. 144) as a man ᾧ μάλιστα ἤρεσκεν ἡ ἐχεμυθία καὶ τὸ σιγᾶν ἃ μὴ χρὴ λέγειν: To whom taciturnity was most delightful, and silence as to what it was not necessary to speak.

15 11. *Pythag*[*oræ*] *quam laudabilis!* How praiseworthy is the maxim of Pythagoras! Γλώσσης, etc. Translated in the following Latin, and thus Englished: Above all things, control the tongue, following the gods (Iamblichus, *Adhort. ad Philos.* 21, Müllach's *Frag. Philos.* i. p. 505, b, 15). The folio has here the marginal note, *Vide Apuleium*, of which I can make nothing.

15 13. *Digito compesce labellum.* With your finger lock your lips (Juvenal, *Satire*, 1. 160).

15 15. *Acutius cernuntur vitia quam virtutes.* Vices are more sharply discerned than virtues.

15 16. *Clearlier and sharper.* Note the two forms of adverb. Adjectives, as well positive as comparative, stand for adverbs. See 17 15, 33 34, 70 4, and *Sh. Gram.* § 1.

15 20. *The treasure of a fool.* I cannot identify this passage in Plautus, Terence, Menander, or other "witty comic poet." There are, however, hundreds of similar proverbs: *e.g.* "The tongue of a fool carves a piece of his heart to all that sit near him" (Hazlitt, *English Proverbs*, p. 388).

15 23. *Inheritance of an unlucky old grange.* Plautus, *Trinummus*, 2. 4. 115.

15 25. *Nothing ever thrived on it,* etc. The speech of Stasimus (*ibid.* 2. 4. 122, *et seqq.*), almost literally translated.

15 31. *Hospitium fuerat calamitatis.* It was the lodging of calamity (*ibid.* 2. 4. 152). Jonson adapts the tense to his context.

15 32. *Was not this man like to sell it?* Jonson has misinterpreted this scene of Plautus. It was not the purpose of Stasimus, the speaker of the passage above, to sell the farm, but to dissuade Philto, by this ruse, from accepting it as a dowry for his master's sister, as the farm was all that was left to the prodigal. Jonson's words are explained, however, by reference to the marginal note of the folio: Sim[iliter] Mart[ialis] lib[er] I. *Ep*[*igrammata*], 86, [*De Mario*]:

> Venderet excultos colles cum præco facetus, etc.

Thus translated (Bohn, p. 67): "A wag of an auctioneer, offering for sale some cultivated heights and beautiful acres of land near the city, said, 'If any one imagines that Marius is compelled to sell, he is mistaken. Marius owes nothing. On the contrary, he rather has money to put out at interest. What is his reason, then, for selling? In this place he lost all his slaves and his cattle and his profits; hence he does not like the locality. Who would have made any offer unless he had wished to lose all his property? So the ill-fated farm remains with Marius.'"

15 32. *Like.* Likely.

15 33. *Vulgi expectatio.* Translated in the text.

16 3. *Taken.* Captivated. Cf. Jonson's song (*The Silent Woman*, 1. 1):

> Such sweet neglect more taketh me
> Than all the adulteries of art.

16 8. *Claritas patriæ.* Translated in the text. Gifford reads *patris*.

16 14. *Eloquence.* Oratorical delivery. Cf. 54 4 and 72 10.

16 17. *Yet there are who.* Cf. the familiar Latin construction, *sunt qui*, and 22 9.

16 25. *Umbratical doctors.* Cf. Petronius Arbiter, *Satyricon*, 2. Defined as *scholasticus, qui in umbra sub tecto vitam agit otiosam.* See also Quintilian (*Inst.* 1. 2. 18): *Sub dio*, in the open air.

17 5. *A causeway to their courtesy.* The folio reads *countrey* for *courtesy*, which "palpable and preposterous misprint" of "the unspeakable editors" Mr. Swinburne very properly corrects.

17 14. *Unless it be meant us.* Note the omission of
Cf. 32 18; and see *Sh. Gram.* § 220 for these old datives

17 15. *Friendly and lovingly.* Cf. 15 16.

17 35. *He hath his horse well dressed for Smithfield.* Cf. *2 Henry IV.* 1. 2. 55:

Falstaff. Where's Bardolph?

Page. He's gone to Smithfield to buy your worship a horse.

Falstaff. I bought him in Paul's, and he'll buy me a horse in Smithfield: an I could get me a wife in the stews, I were manned, horsed and wived.

Malone quotes the following from a collection of old proverbs: "Who goes to Westminster for a wife, to Paul's for a man, and to Smithfield for a horse, may meet with a scold, a knave, and a jade" (Malone's *Shakespeare*, XVII. p. 27).

18 1. *Valor rerum.* The price of things.

18 2. *Bought and sold for.* Cf. 18 17, 25 15, 28 2, 39 25, 42 33, 43 23, 24, 51 14. Modern English dislike's this transposition of the preposition. See *Sh. Gram.* § 424.

18 2. *Health . . . of the physician.* Note the earlier meaning of the preposition *of;* and see *Sh. Gram.* § 165.

18 8. *Memory, of all the powers of the mind,* etc. Seneca, *Controversiarum, Lib.* 1. *Prœmium,* 1. 2, ed. Bursian: Memoria est res ex omnibus animi partibus maxime delicata et fragilis: in quam primam senectus incurrit.

18 10. *Seneca . . . the rhetorician . . . confesseth,* etc. The passage in which Seneca speaks of his memory is as follows: Hanc aliquando in me floruisse, ut non tantum ad usum sufficeret; sed in miraculum usque procederet, non nego, etc. (*ibid.*). What follows will be found almost word for word in Seneca. In these passages, culled from the ancients, Jonson not infrequently adapts the sentiments of his original to the changed circumstances of his own time; more frequently, however, his translation is literal. On this passage Mr. Swinburne offers this prefatory comment: "The following touch of mental autobiography is no less curious than interesting. Had Shakespeare but left us the like." Of Marcus Annæus Seneca, the rhetorician, it is sufficient to say that he is described, "A man of letters after the fashion of the time when rhetoric and false eloquence was most in vogue."

18 11. *Confesseth he had.* Cf. 4 15.

18 13. *Made.* Composed, especially in verse. Cf. the Elizabethan use of the word *maker* for *poet*, 73 28, 75 22, 77 13.

18 16. *Which I have liked to charge my memory with.* Among

these poems were "Donne's verses of the lost chain" (*Elegy*, 11, *On the loss of his mistress's chain for which he made satisfaction*,) and that passage of *The Calm*, "that feathers and dust do not stir all was so quiet" (lines 17–18); Sir Henry Wotton's *Character of a Happy Life* (Ward, *English Poets*, iii. p. 109); certain portions of Chapman's *Homer*, "a piece of the thirteenth *Iliad*"; and "part of the *Shepherd Calendar* about wine between Coline and Percy" (*Eclogue*, 10. 107, *et seqq.*). See the *Conversations with Drummond*, p. 8.

18 17. *Charge my memory with.* Cf. 18 2, and references.

18 21. *Whatsoever I pawned with it; i.e.* placed in store or keeping with it. The Latin runs: Nam quæcumque apud illam aut puer aut juvenis deposui, quasi recentia, aut modo audita sine cunctatione profert. At si qua illi intra proximos annos commisi, sic perdidit et amisit, ut etiamsi sæpius ingerantur, totiens tamen tanquam nova audiam (*Proœm. Controv.* 1. 3).

18 27. *Presently.* Cf. 7 31, 73 3, 83 7.

18 30. *Now, in some mèn.* "Was Shakespeare, we must ask ourselves, one of these?" interpolates Mr. Swinburne. Cf. Seneca, however: Memoria et natura quidem felix, plurimum tamen arte adjuta. Numquam ille quæ dicturus erat, ediscendi causa relegebat: edidicerat illa, cum scripserat, unde eo magis in illo mirabile videri potest, quod non lente et anxie, sed eodem pæne quo dicebat, impetu scribebat. Illi qui scripta sua torquent, qui de singulis verbis in consilium eunt, necesse est, quæ totiens animo suo admovent, novissime affigant. At quorumcumque stilus est velox est, tardior memoria est. In illo non tantum naturalis memoriæ felicitas erat, sed ars summa et ad conprehendenda, quae tenere debebat, et ad custodienda; adeo ut omnes declamationes suas, quascumque dixerat, teneret (*Controv.* 1, *Proœm.* 17 and 18).

It will be noticed that Jonson has adapted this passage, rather than translated it, applying Seneca's remarks as to the natural endowments of his friend, Porcius Latro, to general qualities of mind, curtailing and omitting, but preserving the texture none the less. In these parallel passages, Jonson follows his original so closely that it would be a waste of space to again translate. I shall, therefore, content myself with pointing out such parallels in their originals.

19 3. *Comit* [*iorum*] *suffragia.* Popular votes.

19 7. *Stare a partibus.* To stand by one's party.

19 11. *It self.* The usual Elizabethan form. See 27 29.

19 18. *Deus in creaturis.* Translated in the text.

19 28. *Veritas proprium hominis.* Translated in the words immediately following.

19 29. *The only immortal thing was given.* Note the omission of the relative pronoun. Cf. 4 15, and references there given.

19 33. *Homer says he hates*, etc. The words of Achilles addressing Odysseus (*Iliad*, 9. 312 and 313, and see 4 17).

20 3. *Nothing is lasting that is feigned.* Cf. Ficta omnia celeriter tamquam flosculi decidunt, nec simulatum quidquam esse diuturnum (Cicero, *de Officiis*, 2. 12. 43, Morley).

20 5. *No lie ever grows old.* I have not been able to verify this quotation.

20 6. *Nullum vitium*, etc. Translated in the text.

20 6. *It is strange there should be.* Cf. 4 15, 7 14, 18 11, 23 25, 24 7, 34 19, 37 23.

20 7. *Without his patronage.* Cf. *Sh. Gram.* § 228. *His* is the old genitive of *it*, and was still in general use in Shakespeare's time. Jonson occasionally uses the newer form *its*. Cf. 44 16, 47 35, 76 1, 83 29, 85 5.

20 15. *Live like Antipodes.* Those that turn night into day. Cf. Seneca, *Epistola*, 122: "There are those who invert the order of night and day, and who never open their eyes, still heavy with yesternight's debauch, till night returns again. They seem to be in the state of those whom nature, as Virgil saith, hath placed opposite us, with their feet to our feet. . . . It is not that their region or country is opposite and contrary to that of other men, but their life. There are oftentimes *antipodes* in the same city, who, as Marcus Cato observes, never saw the sun either rising or setting" (ed. Morell, ii. p. 352).

20 20. *At last arrived at that, as they would.* See *Sh. Gram.* § 280.

20 34. *De vere argutis.* Of the truly witty.

20 34. *Do hear them say.* Cf. 4 15. Notice the use of the pronoun for men, people, and see *Sh. Gram.* § 224.

21 8. *Cloth of bodkin.* A species of rich cloth of silk and gold thread. *Tissue.* Cloth interwoven with gold and silver threads. Cf. 45 24.

21 14. *Sweet-bags.* Qu. pomanders?

21 14. *Night-dressings.* Dressing gowns.

21 16. *Censura de poetis.* Translated in the text. Cf. the disrepute into which poetry had fallen, 12 4 and 44 10.

21 21. *Tobacco.* The use of tobacco had spread very fast in England, notwithstanding the animadversions of King James and Barnaby Rich. The latter in his *The Honestie of this Age*, 1614 (pp. 25–26), complains of the money thus wasted, and says that it is reported that seven thousand houses lived by the trade of tobacco selling in

London. The following passage from Harrison's *Chronology*, 1573, published in the Appendix I. of Dr. Furnivall's *Harrison's England* (p. lv), is of interest: "In these days the taking in of the smoke of the Indian herb called tobacco by an instrument formed like a little ladle, whereby it passeth from the mouth into the head and stomach, is greatly taken up, and used in England against rheums and some other diseases engendered in the lungs and inward parts, and not without effect." See also the bills of Shift (*alias* Seignior Whiff, in *Every Man out of his Humor*, 3. 1 and 3), which he set up in St. Paul's, setting forth his abilities to teach the "practise of the Cuban ebolition, euripus, and whiff": "If you please to be a practitioner, I will undertake in one fortnight," says Shift, "to bring you, that you shall take it plausibly in any ordinary, theatre, or the tilt-yard." Finally, "the practitioner" is to be brought to such proficiency that "he shall receive the first, second, and third whiff, and upon the receipt take horse, drink his three cups of Canary, and expose (*i.e.* exhale) one [whiff] at Hunslow, a second at Staines, and a third at Bagehot" (*ibid.* 3. 6).

21 27–32. *Comitetur Punica*, etc. Let a Carthaginian sponge accompany the book. Many erasures are not sufficient, one sponging would be enough. The passage is adapted from Martial, *Epigrams*, 4. 10. 5, which runs thus:

> Curre, sed instructus; comitetur Punica librum
> Spongia: muneribus convenit illa meis
> Non possunt nostros multæ, Faustine lituræ
> Emendare jocos: una litura potest.

22 2. *Cestius . . . preferred to Cicero.* L. Cestius Pius, the rhetorician. The source of this allusion is doubtless this: Pueri fere aut juvenes scolas frequentant: hi non tantum dissertissimis viris . . . Cestium suum præferunt [sed etiam Ciceroni pærferrent] nisi lapides timerent (*Excerpta Controv.* 3, *Proœm.* 15). Seneca abounds in allusions to Cestius. The passage may be thus translated: Mere boys and young men resorted to him in large numbers as pupils. They not only preferred their Cestius to the most learned of his contemporaries, but would even have placed him above Cicero had they not feared stoning.

22 8. *Heath's epigrams.* John Heath, according to Brydges (*Restituta*, ii. p. 11), fellow of New College, Oxford, and born in 1588. He published *Two Centuries of Epigrams* in 1610, and *The House of Correction, or certaine satyricall Epigrams, together with a few Characters called Par Pari or like to like, quoth the Devil to the Collier*, 1619. Two of these epigrams will be found quoted in *Notes and*

Queries, Series 3, vol. 4, 318. They are both on Raleigh's unlucky voyage to "Gwyana." Brydges remarks that several squibs passed between Heath and Sir John Davies. This John Heath is not to be confounded with Robert Heath, his younger and abler contemporary, the author of *Clarastella*, a collection of verses, published in 1650.

22 9. *The Sculler's poems.* In allusion to John Taylor, the water poet, who plied the trade of boatman on the Thames, and "wrote sixty-three booklets to amuse the public with their oddities," making them a present to his customers, and receiving whatever they might offer in return. Among these works is *Taylor's Travels in Germanie, or Three Weeks, Three Hours, and Three Days Travels from London to Hamburg*, etc., 1617. Taylor was high in the favor of King James for a time, and Jonson himself reports the king as having said: "Sir Philip Sidney was no poet. Neither did he see ever any verses in England to the sculler's": a somewhat severe comment on the poetic judgment of the royal author of the *Essays of a Prentise in Poesie* (*Conversations*, p. 26). Jonson believed that Taylor, who journeyed north on his "penniless pilgrimage" about the time that Jonson set out on his journey to Scotland, was sent "to scorn him" (*ibid.* p. 36). This, however, Taylor expressly denies, declaring: "Whereas many shallow-brained critics do lay aspersions on me, that I was set on by others, or that I did undergo this project, either in malice or mockage of Master Benjamin Jonson, I vow by the faith of a Christian that their imaginings are all wide, for he is a gentleman, to whom I am so much obliged for many undeserved courtesies that I have received of him, and from others by his favor, that I durst never be so impudent or ungrateful as either to suffer any man's persuasion or mine own instigation to incite me to so bad a requital for so much goodness formerly received." Taylor adds elsewhere that Jonson gave him "a piece of gold of two and twenty shillings to drink his health in England" when he left Edinburgh (*Conversations*, etc., Preface, p. viii). Taylor's journey to Scotland yielded *The Pennyles Pilgrimage or the Moneyless Perambulation of John Taylor, alias the King's Majesty's Water-Poet from London to Edinburg on foote, 1618.* Taylor lived into Commonwealth times, and fought for the king in squibs of verse. See Morley, *First Sketch of English Literature*, pp. 530 and 541.

22 9. *There are never wanting that dare.* Cf. 16 17.

22 11. *Left to write.* Left off writing.

22 13. *Non illi*, etc. Translated in the previous sentence.

22 14. *The water-rimer's works against Spenser's.* By implication Spenser is here the type of a true poet. Jonson told Drummond that

he had "by heart some verses of Spenser's *Calendar* about wine between Colin and Percy" (*Conversations*, p. 9, and *Shepherd's Calendar*, *Ecl.* 10, 107–108). Elsewhere Jonson is not favorable to Spenser, declaring that "his stanza pleased him not, nor his matter" (*ibid.* p. 2). See also Jonson's animadversions on Spenser's affectation of archaism, 57 26.

22 19. *Poetry . . . but a mean mistress.* Cf. 12 4, 44 10, and Drummond's remark: "He dissuaded me from poetry, for that she had beggared him; when he might have been a rich lawyer, physician, or merchant" (*Conversations*, p. 37).

22 21. *They who have but saluted her on the by; i.e.* who have not followed poetry solely as a profession. On this passage Laing suggests: "Ben Jonson may have here meant to refer to men like Sir John Davies, Dr. Donne, and Bishop Hall" (*ibid.* p. 37, note *c*). For the expression, *on the by*, see *The Magnetic Lady*, 1. 1: "It would beget me such a main authority on the by."

22 27. *Bounty of the time's grandees.* A passage evidently prompted by the neglect into which Jonson fell in later life.

22 32. *Robustiously.* Cf. *Hamlet*, 3. 2. 10: "To see a robustious, periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters."

23 9. *De Shakespeare nostrati.* Of Shakespeare, our fellow-countryman. Cf. this paragraph with Jonson's two poems, *On the Portrait of Shakespeare* and *To the Memory of my Beloved Master William Shakespeare and what he hath left us* (ed. Cunningham, iii. pp. 287–289). I have condensed the following from Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith's excellent note on this passage in *Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse* (*New Sh. Soc. Publ.*, pp. 174–175): "In the remarks, *de Shakespeare nostrati*, we have doubtless Ben's closet-opinion of his friend. . . . Though Ben regretted and condemned his friend's rapidity of execution, it does not appear that he assumed (like Cowley, Preface to his *Poems*, ed. 1656) the right to 'prune and lop away' what did not square with his canons of criticism." The same author refers to two passages of the *Discoveries* (54 28 and 55 18), in which Jonson expatiates on the duty of self-restraint in composition: "No matter how slow the style be at first, so it be labored and accurate"; and again: "So that the sum of all is, ready writing makes not good writing; but good writing brings on ready writing. Yet, when we think we have got the faculty, it is even then good to resist it." Note, however, the reference of these passages to their Latin original in my notes.

23 22. *Sufflaminandus erat.* He ought to have been clogged. This anecdote is recorded by the elder Seneca (*Exc. Controv.* 4,

Proœm. 7). Jonson has translated the very words, applying them to Shakespeare: Tanta erat illi velocitas orationis, ut vitium fieret. Itaque divus Augustus optime dixit: 'Haterius noster sufflaminandus est.' Quintus Haterius was a senator and rhetorician under Augustus and Tiberius; see Tacitus, *Annals*, 4. 61. Notwithstanding the "obvious" nature of Jonson's allusions to the classics, as Whalley terms them, that editor, in a learned note, has missed the true source of this allusion.

23 25. *Fell into those things could not.* Cf. 4 15.

23 28. *Cæsar did never wrong, but with just cause.* Cf. *The Staple of Newes*, Induction: "Cry you mercy, you never did wrong but with just cause." A clear allusion to Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, 3. 1. 47. This passage reads as follows in the folio of 1623:

> *Cæsar.* Know, Cæsar doth not wrong, nor without cause
> Will he be satisfied.

On this, Gifford remarks (*Ben Jonson*, Cunningham, II. p. 275), after accepting Jonson's version as probably the true one: "The fact seems to be that this verse, which closely borders upon absurdity, without being absolutely absurd, escaped the poet [Shakespeare] in the heat of composition, and, being unluckily one of those quaint slips which are readily remembered, became a jocular and familiar phrase." Craik, too (*The English of Shakespeare*, p. 273), considers Jonson's criticism as "good evidence that the passage did not originally stand as we have it." On the other hand, Mr. W. Aldis Wright remarks the following (J. C., Clarendon Press Series, pp. 152–153): "I am not convinced that any change is necessary. Cæsar claims infallibility in his judgments and a firmness of temper in resisting appeals to his vanity. Metellus, bending low before him, begins a flattering speech. Cæsar, knowing that his object was to obtain a reversal of the decree of banishment which had been pronounced against his brother, abruptly interrupts him. To appeal against the decree implied that the decree was unjust; to demand his brother's recall without assigning a cause was to impute to Cæsar that fickleness of purpose which he disdains in such strong terms. If it had not been for Ben Jonson's story, no one would have suspected any corruption in this passage. The question is whether his authority is sufficient to warrant a change. . . . If the lines stood as Jonson quotes them, we must suppose one of two things, — either that in consequence of the ridicule they excited, Shakespeare himself altered them, or that they were altered by the players who edited the first folio, as Gifford believed. The former supposition is not probable, because if Jonson's remarks are hypercritical, and the

lines yield a tolerable sense, Shakespeare would have been aware of this as well as any of his commentators, and is not likely to have made a change which is confessedly unnecessary. . . . If the players introduced the alteration, it is not easy to see why they should have left out the words which Jonson puts into the mouth of Metellus, 'Cæsar, thou dost me wrong,' nor why they should have written, 'Know, Cæsar doth not wrong,' instead of 'Cæsar did never wrong.' . . . On the whole, I am disposed to believe that Ben Jonson loved his jest better than his friend, and repeated a distorted version of the passage without troubling himself about its accuracy, because it afforded him an opportunity of giving a hit at Shakespeare." There is one word to add to this view of the question. I should prefer a more charitable explanation of Ben Jonson's remark, and concur in the opinion of Hudson, White, and Collier, that Jonson "was speaking only from memory, which, as he himself says, was 'shaken with age now' (above 18 18), and so misquoted Shakespeare." In support of the text of the folio many other commentators might be cited. It is sufficient to note here Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillips's observation: "If *wrong* be taken in the sense of *injury* or *harm*, as Shakespeare sometimes uses it, there is no absurdity in this line." Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith finally caps the question by referring Shakespeare's passage to the well-known legal maxim, "The king can do no wrong." It may be added that Mr. Fleay (*Shakespeare's Manual*, p. 38) considers our present form of *Julius Cæsar* a recension of Jonson.

23 32. *Ingeniorum discrimina.* The difference of wits; *i.e.* "diversity of accomplishment and understanding," as Mr. Swinburne explains the title. Cf. the critic's admirable commentary, *A Study of Ben Jonson*, pp. 140–144, *passim*. The folio has a marginal *Not* [*a*], 1, 2, etc., to each paragraph of this essay. Cf. Quintilian: Virtus præceptoris haberi solet, nec immerito, diligenter in iis, quos erudiendos susceperit, notare discrimina ingeniorum, et quo quemque natura maxime ferat, scire. Nam est in hoc incredibilis quædam varietas, nec pauciores animorum pæne quam corporum formæ. . . . Namque erit alius historiæ magis idoneus, alius compositus ad carmen, alius utilis studio juris, ut nonulli rus fortasse mittendi (*Inst.* 2. 8. 1, *et seqq.*). The note is little more than a literal translation.

23 33. *Wits.* See 8 22.

23 34. *Maistry.* Mastery. Old French, *maistre*.

24 6. *No doctrine will do good.* Cf. 4 15, 7 14, 18 11, 20 6, 23 25, 34 19, 37 23.

24 14. *Shamfastness.* The usual Elizabethan form. The modern

shamefaced is a corruption. Cf. *Fairie Queene*, 4. 10. 50 and *Richard III.* 1. 3. 142.

24 19. *Ingenistitium.* A wit-stand. The marginal note of the folio.

24 21. *Labor only to ostentation.* See *Sh. Gram.* § 186.

24 26. *Quæ per salebras*, etc. Which tumble over rough places and lofty rocks (Martial, *Epig.* 11. 90). Cf. 62 4 and 87 22, where the line is quoted again.

24 27. *Trouble it of purpose.* On purpose. See *Sh. Gram.* § 175. Mr. Swinburne thinks that Dr. Donne is glanced at in this passage. See 57 17, note.

24 28. *Run without rubs.* Uneven places in the surface of a bowling alley, by which the ball was deflected. A common expression in Jonson's day. Cf. *Hamlet*, 3. 1. 65 and *Richard II.* 3. 4. 4.

24 33. *Beards specially cut to provoke beholders.* "Neither will I meddle with our variety of beards, of which some are shaven from the chin, like those of Turks, not a few cut short like to the beard of Marquess Otto, some made round like a rubbing-brush, others with a *pique de vant.* (Oh, fine fashion!) or now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being grown to be so cunning in this behalf as the tailors. And therefore if a man have a lean and straight face, a Marquess Otton's cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter-like, a long, slender beard will make it seem the narrower; if he be weasel-beked, then much hair left on the cheeks will make the owner look big like a bowdled hen, and as grim as a goose" (Harrison, *Description of England*, 1577–87, Camelot ed. p. 109).

25 6. *Composition.* Style.

25 7. *A kind of tuning and riming fall.* Mr. Swinburne applies this passage to Daniel, the laureate (*A Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 142). Jonson told Drummond that Daniel was a good honest man, but no poet; and that he was "at jealousies with him" (*Conversations*, pp. 2 and 10).

25 15. *Some that turn over*, etc. Supply *there are* from 25 5, above.

25 21. *Montaigne, Michael Eyquem, Sieur de Montaigne*, 1533–1592. "Whether Montaigne himself invented the famous title *Essays* or not, is a matter of the very smallest importance. It is certain that he was the first to give the word its modern meaning, though he dealt with his subjects in a spirit of audacious desultoriness, which many of his successors have endeavored to imitate, but which few have imitated successfully. . . . The two main points which differentiate him are: first, the audacious egotism and frankness with which he discourses of

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his private affairs and exhibits himself in undress; secondly, the flavor of subtle scepticism which he diffuses over his whole work" (Saintsbury, *Short Hist. of French Literature*, p. 241, *et seqq.*).

25 24. *Not that the place did need it neither.* For the Elizabethan practice of the double negative, see *Sh. Gram.* § 406, and cf. 30 8.

25 27. *Opinion.* Reputation. Cf. 4 25 and 6 3.

25 32. *Venditation of their own naturals.* Boastful display of their own natural gifts. Cf. "When the professors are grown so obstinate contemners of it and presumers on their own naturals" (To the Reader, *The Alchemist*, quarto, 1612).

26 1. *As.* That. Cf. 3 5, and references there.

26 11. *Thinking that way.* In that way. See *Sh. Gram.* § 202; and *2 Henry IV.* 4. 5. 126.

26 18. *Esteemed of the multitude.* In modern English *by*. See *Sh. Gram.* § 171. Cf. 18 2 and 27 26.

26 27. *Only.* Particularly. Cf. *Sh. Son.* 1. 10.

26 32. *Copy.* Abundance. Latin *copia*. *Where.* Whereas.

26 32. *Election.* Selection. Cf. 56 18.

26 33. *A mean.* Moderation.

27 4. *Tamerlanes and Tamer-chams.* Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, the first part of which was acted in or before 1588, was one of the most popular plays of its day. The historical importance of this play can scarcely be overestimated. It made blank verse once and for all the medium of English tragedy, and infused a genuine passion into the drama. Like *The Spanish Tragedy*, *Tamburlaine*, from its bombastic, inflated language, became a common mockery among the later playwrights; *e.g. Eastward Ho!* 2. 1, and elsewhere. Jonson did not mention Marlowe in his *Conversations*. *Tamer-cham* or *cam* is not the same play as *Tamburlaine*, although probably on a similar subject. Henslow's *Diary* contains an entry of the payment of 40*s.* to E. Alleyn "for his book of *Tamberzan*, the 29th October, 1602" (see Collier, *Hist. of Dram. Poetry*, iii. p. 105); and it appears that "the platt of the first part of *Tamer-cam*" was actually discovered by Malone at Dulwich College, of which Alleyn was the founder. This "platt" seems to have been little more than a list of entrances and exits to be hung in the wings for the information of the actors and those assisting behind the scenes. Collier's notion that the play was *extempore* seems untenable. The "platt" will be found in Malone's *Shakespeare* (Boswell), iii. p. 356. It is said that the original has since disappeared.

27 13. *Gratulates.* Congratulates.

27 19. *Make.* The folio reads *makes.*

27 20. *Elocution.* Eloquence. Cf. 34 31 and 67 32.

27 22. *Translated.* Expressed figuratively.

27 26. *Praised of the most.* By the most. Cf. 26 18. "The rest of the note," says Mr. Swinburne, "is valuable as a studious and elaborate expression of Jonson's theory or ideal of dramatic poetry, . . . regrettable only for the insulting reference to the first work of a yet greater poet than himself." *Marlowe*

27 28. *Ignorantia animæ.* Ignorance of soul. *Nay sometimes they* [those of great understanding] *will rather choose to die than not know the things they study for.* Mr. Swinburne, in his commentary, refers us to Robert Browning's *A Grammarian's Funeral:*

> That low man seeks a little thing to do,
> Sees it and does it:
> This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
> Dies ere he knows it.
> That low man goes on adding one to one,
> His hundred's soon hit;
> This high man, aiming at a million,
> Misses a unit.
> That, has the world here — should he need the next,
> Let the world mind him!
> This, throws himself on God, and unperplexed,
> Seeking, shall find him.

28 3. *What* [*a*] *good the contrary.* Mr. Swinburne's emendation.

28 2. *Things they study for.* See 18 2.

28 11. *Indagations.* Inquiries, investigations.

28 14. *Otium studiorum.* Scholarly relaxation.

28 16. *The temper in spirits is,* etc. The tempering (quality of pliability) in man's nature consists, etc.

28 17. *I have known a man vehement,* etc. This well-known passage is frequently quoted as a personal reminiscence (see Ward, *Hist. of Dram. Lit.* i. p. 544, and Swinburne, *A Study of Ben Jonson,* p. 146); and perhaps it was so intended by Jonson. The whole is, however, a literal translation from the elder Seneca, and is applied to M. Porcius Latro, the rhetorician, Seneca's friend, contemporary, and fellow-countryman. After recalling the pleasure which he felt in the remembrance of his old friend Latro, and a few preliminary words as to his eloquence, Seneca continues: In utraque parte vehementi viro modus deerat: nec intermittere studia sciebat nec repetere. Quum se ad scribendum concitaverat, jungebantur noctibus dies et sine intervallo gravius sibi insta-

bat nec desinebat nisi defecerat; rursus quum se dimiserat, in omnes lusus, in omnes jocos se resoluebat . . . ut vix posset ad priorem consuetudinem retrahi. . . . Quotiens ex intervallo dixerat, multo acrius violentiusque dicebat: exultabat enim novato atque integro robore et tantum a se exprimebat quantum concupierat. Nesciebat dispensare vires suas, sed immoderati adversus se imperii fuit, etc. (*Controv.* 1, *Proœm.* 13 and 14).

28 20. *Would join.* Was accustomed to join. See *Sh. Gram.* § 330. Cf. 28 26.

28 30. *Absolute.* Highly accomplished, perfect (Halliwell).

28 32. *Hurts more that is hid.* That it is hid.

28 35. *He denied figures to be invented for ornament.* Note the Latin construction, and cf. 28 19 and 34 7.

29 3. *Right.* Straight.

29 4. *Stili eminentia.* Greatness or distinction of style.

29 4. *Men's eminence appears but in their own way.* Cf. Seneca, where the passage appears almost entire: Magna quoque ingenia a quibus multum abesse me scio, quando plus quam in uno eminuerunt opere? Ciceronem eloquentia sua in carminibus destituit; Vergilium illa felicitas ingenii [in] oratione soluta reliquit; orationes Sallustii in honorem historiarum leguntur; eloquentissimi viri Platonis oratio quoque pro Socrate scripta nec patrono nec reo digna est, etc. etc. (*Excerpta Controv.* 3, *Proœm.* 8–10).

29 5. *Virgil's felicity . . . Tully's verse.* Virgil's letters to Augustus are all that is known of the poet's prose. "In poetry," says Teuffel, "Cicero was little more than a common versifier." See *Hist. of Roman Lit.* i. pp. 426 and 306; Juvenal, *Sat.* 10. 124; and Martial, *Epig.* 2. 89.

29 8. *Plato's speech,* etc. This is not the usual opinion. See Grote's *Plato,* p. 281 *et seqq.*

29 11. *You shall have him.* See *Sh. Gram.* § 315, p. 224, and cf. 13 30 and 79 13.

29 20. *De claris oratoribus.* Of famous orators.

29 20. *I have known many excellent men.* The Latin runs: Quosdam disertissimos agnovi viros non respondentes famæ suæ cum declamarent, in foro maxima omnium admiratione dicentes, simul ad has domesticas excercitationes secesserant desertos ab ingenio suo. . . . Eloquentia ejus longe major erat quam lectio. . . . Melius semper fortuna quam cura de illo merebatur (*Excerpta Controv.* 3, *Proœm.* 1. 3. 5).

29 27. *For men of present spirits.* Cf. Vir enim præsentis animi

et majoris ingenii quam studii magis placebat in his quæ invenicbat quam in his quæ attulerat (*ibid.* 4).

29 29. *And I have heard some.* Cf. Ex tempore coactus dicere infinito se antecedebat. Numquam non utilius erat illi deprehendi quam præparari; sed magis illum suspiceres quod diligentiam non relinquebat, cum illi tam bene temeritas cederet (*ibid.* 6).

29 34. *Their anger made them more eloquent.* Cf. 31 3 and Jam vero iratus commodius dicebat (*ibid.* 4).

30 1. *They left not diligence.* Cf. Numquam tamen hæc felicitas illi persuasit neglegentiam (*ibid.* 5).

30 7. *Dominus Verulamius.* Lord Bacon. Cf. 31 4 and 31 22.

30 7. *One though he be excellent.* Cf. Non est unus, quamvis præcipuus sit, imitandus, quia numquam par sit imitator auctori. Hæc rei natura est: semper citra veritatem est similitudo (*Controv.* 1, *Proœm.* 6).

30 8. *For never no imitator.* Note the double negative. See 25 24.

30 10. *One noble speaker.* The famous Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans, 1561–1626. This interesting passage on the eloquence of the great Chancellor is borne out by the testimony of others, his contemporaries. James Howell says that Bacon was "a man *reconditæ scientiæ, et ad salutem literarum natus*, and I think the eloquentest that was born in this isle" (*Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*, ed. Stott, ii. p. 47). Jonson was well acquainted with Lord Bacon, and, besides the several allusions of the *Discoveries*, addressed a poem to him on his sixtieth birthday (*Underwoods*, 70). In the *Conversations with Drummond*, Jonson tells us: "My lord Chancellor of England wrings his speeches from the strings of his bands, and other counsellors from the pickings of their teeth" (p. 25). Elsewhere he relates that on the occasion of the poet's pedestrian journey to Scotland, Sir Francis said, "I love not to see poesie go on other feet than poetical dactylus and spondæus" (*ibid.* p. 22). It is interesting to note that this famous passage, which, so far as I know, has never been supposed anybody's but Jonson's, is really little more than an application of classical lore to contemporary men and conditions. The original will be found almost entire in the elder Seneca's description of the eloquence of Severus Cassius, an orator and satirical writer under Augustus and Tiberius. I give the parallel passages of Seneca in the following notes.

30 11. *His language where he could spare a jest*, etc. Quam diu citra jocos se continebat, censoria oratio erat (*Excerpta Controv.* 3, *Proœm.* 4).

30 13. *No man ever spake more neatly*, etc. In nullo enim hoc fiebat notabilius. Oratio ejus erat valens cultu, ingentibus plena sen-

tentiis: nemo minus passus est aliquid in actione sua otiosi esse; nulla pars erat quæ non sua virtute staret, nihil in quo auditor sine damno aliud ageret, omnia intenta, aliquo petentia; nemo magis in sua potestate habuit audientium affectus. Verum est quod de illo dicit Gallio noster: quum diceret, rerum potiebatur. Adeo omnes imperata faciebant: quum ille voluerat, irascebantur. Nemo non illo dicente timebat ne desineret (*ibid.* 1–3).

30 13. *Censorious.* The Latin *censorius*, rigid, severe.

30 14. *Presly.* Concisely, succinctly. Jonson translates the Latin, *ingentibus plena sententiis*, freely. Cunningham's emendation, *prestly* for *presly*, is at least unnecessary. Cf. Parker, *The Platonick Philosophie*, 1667, p. 39: "Though he may pursue his task *presly* and coherently."

30 16. *His own graces.* The folio reads *the own.*

30 19. *Devotion.* Disposal, power of disposing. At his devotion is Jonson's translation of *quum ille voluerat.* Mr. Lowell has finely applied this passage to Emerson (*Emerson as a Lecturer, My Study Windows*, p. 384).

30 22. *Scriptorum catalogus.* List of writers.

30 22. *Cicero . . . ingenium par imperio.* Seneca, *Controv.* 1, *Proœm.* 11. Translated in the text.

30 23. *Wit.* Cf. 8 22, 10 14, 16 5, 23 33, 24 8, and 54 11.

30 25. *Seculum.* Age.

30 26. *Sir Thomas More* (1480–1535). "It was the story of *Nowhere*, or *Utopia*, which More began in 1515 to embody in the wonderful book which reveals to us the heart of the new learning. . . . In More the same free play of thought which had shaken off the old forms of education and faith turned to question the old forms of society and politics" (Green's *Hist. of the Engl. People*, ii. p. 100).

30 26. *The elder Wyatt* (1503–1542), *Henry Earl of Surrey* (1516–1547). Of these poets the Rev. Stopford Brooke says: "They were both Italian travellers, and in bringing back to England the inspiration they had gained from Petrarca they re-made English poetry. They are our first really modern poets, the first who have anything of the modern manner" (*Engl. Lit.* p. 68).

30 27. *Sir Thomas Chaloner* (1521–1565) was a diplomatist and scholar, of note alike for his Latin and English poetry. *Sir Thomas Smith*, Secretary of State (1514–1579), in his earlier day endeavored with Sir John Cheke to reform the existing method of pronouncing Greek. His chief work was a Latin treatise, *de Republica Anglorum* (see Morley, *First Sketch*, p. 301). *Sir Thomas Elyot* (1490–1546)

was the author of *The Governor*, a popular prose treatise on education. *Stephen Gardner* Bishop of Winchester (1483–1555), Chancellor under Mary, was a scholar of rare attainment and steady in his patronage of learning. For his general character, see Froude, *Hist. of Engl.* vi. pp. 370–371.

30 29. *Sir Nicholas Bacon* (1509–1579), the father of Sir Francis, was Lord Keeper for twenty years. Macaulay ranks him second only to Burleigh in ability and statesmanship (Essay on *Lord Bacon*).

30 31. *Sir Philip Sidney* (1554–1586). See 57 17, and Professor Cook's Introduction to his ed. of the *Defense of Poesie*, pp. ix.–xi. Fulk Greville, Sidney's intimate, said of him: "I never knew him other than a man; with such staidness of mind, lovely and familiar gravity, as carried grace and reverence above greater years. His talk ever of knowledge, and his very play tending to enrich his mind" (*Life of Sidney*, ed. 1652, p. 7).

30 31. *Richard Hooker* (1553–1600), the author of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. To Hooker, Mr. Saintsbury grants "the profound and unpretentious art of mixing the useful and the agreeable" (*Hist. of Elizabethan Lit.* p. 47). Jonson has several remarks on Sidney in his *Conversations with Drummond*, but they are mostly of a gossipy nature. Hooker he dismisses with the observation, "He spoke best for church matters," parenthetically remarking that "his children are now beggars" (*Conversations*, pp. 2. 10. 15, and 10).

30 34. *Robert Devereux*, second Earl of Essex (1567–1601), the well-known favorite of Elizabeth. Warton says: "He was a vigorous and elegant writer of prose. But if Essex was no poet, few noblemen of his age were more courted by poets. . . . He scarce ever went out of England . . . without a pastoral in his praise or a panegyric in metre, which were sold and sung in the streets. . . . I know not if the queen's fatal partiality, or his own inherent attractions, his love of literature, his heroism, integrity, and generosity, — qualities which abundantly overbalance his presumption, his vanity, and impetuosity, — had a greater share in dictating these praises" (*Hist. of Engl. Poetry*, iii. p. 341). A familiar instance of the great popularity of Essex is to be found in Shakespeare's allusion to him in the chorus, Act V. of *Henry V.* 30:

> Were now the general of our gracious empress,
> As in good time he may, from Ireland coming,
> Bringing rebellion broached on his sword,
> How many would the peaceful city quit
> To welcome him!

30 34. *Sir Walter Raleigh* (1552–1618), courtier and favorite of Elizabeth. Rich on the products of monopolies and deep in the intrigues and frivolities of court life, he had yet the time to devote attention to literature, and besides his poetry, which is much praised by his contemporaries, wrote a *History of the World* during his long imprisonment. A close contact existed between Raleigh and Jonson. The latter was tutor to Sir Walter's graceless son, and accompanied him abroad in the year 1613. Jonson told Drummond "that Sir Walter Raleigh esteemed more of fame than conscience. The best wits of England were employed for making his *History*. Ben himself had written a piece to him [*i.e.* for him] of the Punic War, which he altered, and set in his book" (*Conversations*, pp. 21 and 15). As to this allegation, Mr. Saintsbury remarks: "In none of his reported helpers' own work do the peculiar graces of the purple passages of the *History* occur" (*Elizabethan Literature*, p. 213).

31 1. *Sir Henry Savile* (1549–1622). An historical writer of note, warden of Merton College, Oxford, and provost of Eton. The death of his son caused Savile to devote his property to the encouragement of learning; and in 1619 he founded, at Oxford, the Savilian Professorship of Astronomy and Geometry (Morley's *First Sketch*, p. 470). Jonson addressed an interesting *Epigram* (95) to Savile, in which he praises him for his translation of part of Tacitus.

31 1. *Sir Edwin Sandys* (1561–1629). A scholar and diplomat. His chief literary work was an account of the religious condition of Europe under the title *Europæ Speculum*.

31 2. *Sir Thomas Egerton*, afterwards Baron Ellesmere and Viscount Brackley (1540–1617), Lord Chancellor preceding Bacon. Egerton was held in high esteem by his contemporaries. Jonson wrote three epigrams in his honor (*Epigram*, 74, and *Underwoods*, 50 and 51). Egerton published little during his life.

31 3. *Best when he was provoked.* Cf. 29 34.

31 4. *But his learned, though unfortunate successor; i.e.* Lord Bacon. See 30 7 and 31 22.

31 5. *Insolent Greece and haughty Rome.* Cf. the lines from Jonson's *To the Memory of my Beloved Master, William Shakespeare:*

> Leave thee alone, for the comparison
> Of all that insolent Greece or haughty Rome
> Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.

It is, perhaps, needless to add that those who attribute Shakespeare's plays to Bacon make much capital out of this parallel, which is quite

"as applicable to Bacon's prose as to Shakespeare's verse." The whole passage is imitated from Seneca: Deinde ut possitis æstimare, in quantum quotidie ingenia decrescant et, nescio qua iniquitate naturæ, eloquentia se retro tulerit: quidquid Romana facundia habet quod insolenti Græciæ aut opponat aut præferat circa Ciceronem effloruit; omnia ingenia quæ lucem studiis nostris adtulerunt tunc nata sunt. In deterius deinde quotidie data res est, etc. (*Controv.* 1, *Proœm.* 6–7).

31 12. *ἀκμή*. In modern critical jargon, "high-water mark."

31 13. *De augmentis scientiarum.* The title of the opening chapter of Bacon's *Instauratio Magna*, and translated by him *On the Advancement of Learning.*

31 16. *For schools they are.* Cf. 14 22.

31 20. *Books of Analogy.* Cæsar's lost work, *de Analogia*, or, *de Ratione Latine Loquendi.* It was dedicated to Cicero, contained investigations into the nature of the Latin language, and is said to have been written while Cæsar was crossing the Alps. See Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 56; and Cicero, *Brutus*, 72. 253.

31 22. *Novum Organum.* The most original and important part of the *Instauratio Magna*, that in which Bacon proposed the new method of pursuing science. "Lord Bacon," says Ueberweg, "stripped off from natural philosophy the theosophical character which it bore during the transitional period, and limited it in its method to experiment and induction. He thus became the founder — not, indeed, of the empirical method of natural investigation, but — of the empirical line of modern philosophers. . . . His historical significance arises from these facts, — that he indicated some of the essential ends and means of modern culture; that he vigorously emphasized the value of genuine self-acquired knowledge of nature; that he overthrew the scholastic method of a theosophical and inexperimental science, and that he indicated the fundamental features of inductive inquiry" (*Hist. of Philosophy*, ii. p. 33). See a very different estimate of Bacon by Dr. Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, ii. p. 258. Cf. 30 7 and 31 4.

31 24. *Title of nominals.* Mere names of things.

31 27. *Qui longum*, etc. I give the text of the folio, which is adapted from Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 346: Et longum noto scriptori prorogat ævum. Thus translated by Jonson:

> With honor make the far-known author live.

Colonel Cunningham reads *proroget.* We find *prorogat* in the parallel Latin of Jonson's translation.

31 28. *Conceit.* Opinion, esteem. Elsewhere Jonson uses *conceit*

in the simple sense, idea, thought; cf. 54 30, 67 15, 68 2, 71 18; once at 71 29, to signify a humorous thought or fancy. Cf. also "He never esteemed a man for the name of a lord" (*Conversations*, p. 23). Mr. Swinburne says of this passage: "It may well be questioned whether there exists a finer example of English prose, . . . where sublimity is resolved into pathos, and pathos dilates into sublimity."

32 4. *De corruptela morum.* On the corruption of manners.

32 16. *De rebus mundanis.* Of worldly affairs.

32 18. *More evils belong us.* Cf. 17 14.

32 25. *Morbus comitialis.* The disease of parliament. In Royalist parlance, the itch of the Commons to meddle in the affairs of the nation. The expression, however, contains a second allusion, as the *morbus comitialis* was the term applied by the Romans to the epilepsy, because its occurrence on the day of the *comitia*, as ominous, broke up the consultation.

32 26. *Grudging against.* Finding fault with and envying. The whole passage seems in allusion to the increasing troubles of Charles with his parliament.

32 28. *Hercules and the bull.* An allusion to the seventh labor of Hercules, by which he was required to capture the mad Cretan bull which had long been devastating the domain of Minos in revenge for a slight which that monarch had put upon Neptune.

32 33. *To censure.* To judge. Here, with much of its modern restriction. As a rule, *censure* means simply to give an opinion, even a very favorable one, as: "This and some other remarkable abilities made one then give his *censure* of him, that this age had brought forth another Picus Mirandola" (Walton's *Life of Donne*, American ed. 1846, p. 54); and cf. 70 34, 81 8, and 81 16.

33 5. *Princeps.* Cf. these royalist sentiments with the sections on Tyrants, the Unlettered Prince, and the Character of a Prince, 40 9–42 19, and with the utterance, 37 20.

33 10. *Put-off man.* Discarded, banished man. The folio reads *put of.*

33 19. *Prayers with Orpheus, . . . the daughters of Jupiter.* This figure is used in the speech of Phoinix (*Iliad*, 9. 502, *et seqq.*): "Moreover prayers of penitence are daughters of great Zeus, halting and wrinkled and of eyes askance, that have their task withal to go in the steps of Sin. For Sin is strong and fleet of foot, wherefore she far outrunneth all Prayers, and goeth before them over all the earth, making men fall, and Prayers follow behind to heal the harm. Now whosoever reverenceth Zeus' daughters when they draw near, him they

gladly bless, and hear his petitions; but when one denieth them, and stiffly refuseth, then depart they, and make prayer under Zeus, the son of Kronos, that sin may come upon such an one, and he fall and pay the price" (Trans. Lang, etc. p. 176).

33 23. *De opt[imo] rege Jacobo.* Of the best of kings, James. The relation of James and the court to Jonson was that of immediate patronage (see *Introduction*). A large number of poems and epigrams attest this fact. See, especially, the two epigrams to James (4 and 51), and the three poems to Charles (*Underwoods*, 98 to 100). On the note of adulation in these poems, Gifford justly remarks: "James was his munificent patron; and gratitude, which none felt more ardently than our poet, might excuse some little exaggeration of praise."

33 23. *Accu[mu]lation.* The folio reads *acculation.* Gifford and Cunningham both read *accumulation.*

33 27. *De princ[ipum] adjunctis.* Of the attributes of princes. Mr. Swinburne considers this note "rather Baconian than Jonsonian in its cult of 'prudence' as 'his chief art of safety.'" Cf. Bacon's *Essays, Of Empire*, Golden Treasury ed. p. 75, *et seqq.*

33 27. *Sed vere prudens*, etc. But truly a prince could scarcely be conceived as wise unless at the same time as good.

33 32. *Lycurgus* lived about 880 B.C. His life was as austere as his laws were inflexible. See Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, ii. pp. 455–460.

33 33. *Sylla, L. Cornelius Felix* (138–78 B.C.), the dictator. Although personally a man of dissolute life, the design of many of Sylla's laws was to effect a restoration of the ancient Roman constitution by the improvement of public morals. *Lysander*, d. 395 B.C., the Spartan general, spent much of his life among the Asiatic Greeks, to whom, in his legislation, he allowed much that was foreign to his own simple mode of life.

33 34. *Living extremely dissolute.* See *Sh. Gram.* § 1, and cf. 70 4.

34 7. *Cyrus to have been nursed*, etc. Note the Latinism, and cf. 28 35. For this story, see Herodotus, *Clio*, 110: "The name of the woman whom he (Mithradates, to whom the infant Cyrus was intrusted) married was Cyno, in the language of Greece, and Spaco, in that of the Medes, for the Medes call a bitch, Spaca."

34 8. *A creature to encounter it.* Cf. *Sh. Gram.* § 417, for the independent grammatical relation of the initial noun. Cf. 40 20, 70 25, and *Sejanus*, 3. 3: "The prince that feeds great natures, they will slay him."

34 12. *De malign[itate] studentium.* Of the malignity of the learned.

34 13. *Habent venenum*, etc. Poison is their daily food, nay, their delicacy.

34 16. *Which makes the profession taxed.* Cf. 32 27.

34 18. *As.* That. Cf. 3 5, and references there.

34 19. *It shews they themselves*, etc. Cf. 4 15, 7 14, 18 11, 20 6, 23 25, 24 6, and 37 23.

34 22. *Inform.* Give shape to. *Manners.* Here used, as in general by Jonson, to translate the Latin *mores.*

34 26. *Piety to the divine.* The folio reads *poetry.*

34 26. *Politic.* Politician.

34 27. *But that he which can feign a commonwealth.* The use of the pronouns, *he* and *she*, as nouns signifying *man* and *woman* was quite usual in Elizabethan English. See *Sh. Gram.* § 224, and Jonson's *To the Memory of my Beloved Master, William Shakespeare:*

> And that *he*
> Who casts to write a line must sweat.

Which was used interchangeably with *that* and *who.* See *Sh. Gram.* § 265, and cf. the first words of the Lord's Prayer. Cf. 42 26.

34 28. *Gown it with counsels.* This vigorous Elizabethan expression Whalley weakened to *govern.*

34 31. *Elocution.* Eloquence. Cf. 27 20 and 67 32.

34 35. *Embattling.* Arranging in order of battle.

35 4. *Controvers*[*iales*] *scriptores.* Polemical writers.

35 8. *More Andabatarum.* In the manner of the *Andabatæ*, who fight with closed eyes. These were a sort of Roman gladiator, whose helmets were without openings for the eyes. See Lipsius, *de Amphitheatro*, 2. 12.

35 9. *Milks a he-goat.* A proverbial expression for a fruitless task.

35 19. *Cure a leprosy . . . with the warm blood of a murdered child.* There are many like stories in the folk lore of the Middle Ages. Cf. Massmann, *Kaiserchronik*, iii. p. 856, and references there. These stories belong to a still wider class, in which the victim is an adult, and the sacrifice voluntary. Cf. *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Œsterle, No. 230, in which a girl afflicted with leprosy, only to be cured by her bathing in royal blood, accepts the sacrifice of her royal lover, who allows so much blood to be taken from him that it causes his death. Cf. also Longfellow's *Golden Legend*, in which this last story is reversed.

35 22. *Dissimuled.* Dissemble, concealed. Cf. "With dissimuled sorrow to celebrate his funeral" (*Euphues' Golden Legacy*, Lodge, chap. 2).

35 24. *Jactantia intempestiva.* Untimely boasting.

35 26. *Done them because they might.* That they might. Cf. *Sh. Gram.* § 117. *Because* (in order that) refers to the future instead of, as with us, to the past.

35 32. *Adulatio.* Flattery. "The note on flattery and flatterers," says Mr. Swinburne, "is as exalted in its austerity as trenchant in its scorn."

36 1. *Repent me.* Cf. 47 18.

36 22. *De vita humana.* Of human life.

36 22. *Life is like a play.* A frequent sentiment of the time, in varying form. Cf. *As You Like It*, 2. 7. 139; *Bussy d'Ambois*, 1. 1; *New Inn*, 1. 1 (ed. Cunningham, ii. p. 345), etc., and verses prefixed to Heywood's *Apology for Actors:*

> The world's a theatre, the earth's a stage,
> Which God and Nature doth with actors fill.

Steevens referred these passages to the alleged motto of the Globe Theatre: *Totus mundus agit histrionem*, which is again referable to Petronius Arbiter, *Fragmenta*, 10: *Quod fere totus mundus exerceat histrionem.* Finally, several patristic references to the same sentiment will be found in *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 6. 4, pp. 148 and 311, with the statement that Hackius attributes the remark to Democrates: ὁ κόσμος σκηνή, ὁ βίος πάραδος (Hackius, *Epistle Dedicatory* to his ed. of Terence, 1657). See 37 2.

36 25. *As.* That. See 3 5, and references.

36 32–34. *Abel*, etc. The passage is inspired by *Heb.* 11. 4–8. Abel is the example of innocency, as one unjustly the victim of crime (*Gen.* 4); Enoch, son of Jared, of perfected humanity, a man raised to heaven by pleasing God (*ibid.* 5. 22–24); Noah, of trust, in allusion to the familiar Biblical story of the flood; and Abraham, of faith in God, from his willingness to sacrifice Isaac.

37 2. *The stage of the world.* Cf. 36 22.

37 4. *Though the most be players, some must be spectators.* Cf. two epigrams which Steevens, Oldys, or somebody, fabricated, and attributed to Jonson and Shakespeare, respectively:

> If but stage actors all the world displays,
> Where shall we find spectators of their plays?

> Little or much of what we see we do;
> We're all both actors and spectators, too.

The quality of these Jonsonian and Shakespearian lines calls for no comment here. It is not unlikely that the passage under consideration inspired these spurious epigrams. See *The Centurie of Prayse*, p. 410.

37 5. *Mores aulici.* Courtly manners.

37 11. *Impiorum querela.* Complaint of the unrighteous. These two anecdotes of Caius Cæsar, surnamed Caligula, who reigned A.D. 37–41, are related by Suetonius, in his *Life of Caligula*, 31 and 30. The allusion to the defeat of P. Quintilius Varus in the Teutoburgerwald in the summer, 9 B.C., is sufficiently familiar. The fall of the theatre at Fidenæ is related by Tacitus, *Annals*, 4. 62–63. The historian estimates that upwards of fifty thousand persons were killed or maimed thereby.

37 16. *Fidenæ.* The folio reads *Iidenæ*, which Whalley corrects.

37 17. *That other voice; i.e.* remark.

37 20. *Tyrant.* The folio reads *tyranne.*

37 20. *A tyrant . . . but one creature.* "This sentence is worthy of Landor," says Mr. Swinburne; "and those who would reproach Ben Jonson with the extravagance of his monarchical doctrines or theories must admit that such royalism as is compatible with undisguised approval of regicide or tyrannicide might not irrationally be condoned by the sternest and most rigid of republicans" (*A Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 152). Cf. 4 15, 33 6, and 40 9 *et seqq.*

37 23. *Nobilium ingenia.* Inborn qualities of the nobility. The next eight notes form a connected, if somewhat desultory, essay on the subject of government.

37 23. *I have marked some are*, etc. Cf. 4 17, 18 11, 20 6, 23 25, 24 6, and 34 19.

37 35. *Principum varia[tio].* The difference of princes. This note and the two following point to a reading of Macchiavelli.

37 35. *Firmissima vero*, etc. The firmest base of all, indeed, is the hereditary right of the prince. Cf. "I do affirm, then, that hereditary states, and such as have been accustomed to the family of their prince, are preserved with less difficulty than the new" (Macchiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. Morley, p. 12).

38 1. *There is a great variation.* Cf. "He who arrives at the sovereignty by the assistance of the great ones preserves it with more difficulty than he who is advanced by the people, because he has about him many of his old associates, who, thinking themselves his equals, are not to be directed and managed as he would have them. But he that is preferred by the people stands alone without equals, and has nobody, or very few, about him but what are ready to obey" (*ibid.* p. 63).

38 6. *Oppression of the rest; i.e.* for the oppression of the rest.

38 10. *Hath the people to friend.* Cf. 4 4, 13 17, 69 25, and 78 17.

38 12. *Of he that builds.* See *Sh. Gram.* §§ 205. 206. Cf. the proverb of the text with *2 Henry IV.* 1. 3. 89:

> An habitation giddy and unsure
> Hath he that buildeth on the vulgar heart.

38 20. *Clementia.* Clemency. *A prince should exercise his cruelty, not by himself, but by his ministers.* Jonson refers to the following, related of Cæsar Borgia by Macchiavelli: "And because he discovered that his past severity had created him many enemies, to remove that ill-opinion, and recover the affections of the people, he had a mind to show that, if any cruelty had been exercised, it proceeded not from him, but from the arrogance of his minister; and for their further confirmation, he caused the said governor to be apprehended, and his head chopped off one morning in the market-place at Cesena, with a wooden dagger on one side of him and a bloody knife on the other, the ferocity of which spectacle not only appeased but amazed the people for awhile" (*The Prince*, pp. 48–49). Cf. Overbury's characterization of the host as one that "hath gotten the trick of greatness, to lay all mislikes upon his servants" (*Characters*, ed. London, 1856, p. 71).

38 31. *Haud infima ars*, etc. It is not the least art in a prince to judge where lenity, where severity, may best prevail for the common good. See an interesting note by Prof. A. W. Ward (*Hist. of Engl. Dramatic Literature*, i. 185) on Macchiavelli and the references to him and his works throughout Elizabethan literature. Besides various references to Shakespeare, Professor Ward refers to *Every Man out of his Humor*, 2. 2, and *The Magnetic Lady*, 1. 1.

Niccolo Macchiavelli (1469–1527), the eminent statesman, diplomatist, and writer of history and statecraft. While Macaulay's defence can hardly be accepted as a complete vindication of this remarkable man, there need be no hesitancy in affirming that he has labored under much undeserved obloquy. As Hallam says, "His crime, in the eyes of the world, was to have cast away the veil of hypocrisy."

38 33. *Taking away.* Taking off.

38 35. *It is most gracious then . . . when. . . . To think then . . . when.* Note the formality of the correlatives. Cf. 68 30.

39 6. *Factors.* Deputies, assistants.

39 7. *Clementia tutela opima.* Clemency is the highest safeguard. The folio reads *tutelat* for *tutela*. *He that is cruel to halves*, etc. Cf. "He that usurps the government is to execute all the cruelties which

he thinks material at once, that he may have no occasion to renew them often, but that by his discontinuance he may mollify the people, and by his benefits bring them over to his side. He who does otherwise, whether for fear or ill-counsel, is obliged to be always ready with his knife in his hand; for he can never repose any confidence in his subjects, whilst they, by reason of his continued inhumanities, cannot be secure against him. So then injuries should be committed all at once, that the last being the less, the distaste may be likewise the less; but benefits should be distilled in drops, that the relish may be the greater" (*The Prince*, chap. 8, p. 61). And Bacon: "And certain it is that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power, pressed too far and relaxed too much" (*On Empire*, *Essays*, Golden Treasury ed. p. 76).

39 7. *Cruel to halves.* By halves. Cf. 26 18 and 27 26.

39 25. *Need a cipher for.* Cf. 18 2, and references there.

39 28. *The Palladium.* "Troy, however, was still impregnable so long as the Palladium, a statue given by Zeus himself to Dardanus, remained in the citadel; and great care had been taken by the Trojans, not only to conceal this valuable present, but to construct other statues so like it as to mislead any intruding robber. Nevertheless the enterprising Odysseus . . . found means to penetrate into the city, and to convey the Palladium by stealth away" (Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, i. p. 410). The folio has the marginal note *Palladium Homeri.*

39 30. *He that is religious must be merciful and just necessarily, and they* (*i.e.* mercy and justice) *are*, etc.

39 33. *Innocence rejoiceth in.* Cf. 18 2, and the references there.

40 4. *Let no man . . . murmur at the actions of the prince.* Cf. the reported utterance of the British Solomon on this prime dogma of Stuart statecraft: "A father cannot injure a son, or a king his subjects, so that they may shake off their natural obedience, or to be their revengers. If anything be amiss, all they can do is *præcibus et lacrimis, non vi et armis*" (*Crumms fal'n from King James's Table*, Sir Thomas Overbury, p. 268).

40 7. *Where the prince is good*, etc. I have been unable to find this in Euripides.

40 11. *A prince with such counsel.* This is the reading of the folio. Mr. Swinburne, who, it would seem, must have read for his *Study of Ben Jonson* from Gifford's, or at best Cunningham's, edition, very properly corrects Gifford's blunder: "a prince with such a council," by the query "counsel." The query, however, becomes unnecessary with a glance at the folio.

40 12. *Terminus.* A Roman divinity, presiding over boundaries and frontiers. His statue was merely a stone or post stuck in the ground to distinguish between properties.

40 13. *The crowned lion in the fable.* In allusion to the well-known fable of *Reynard the Fox*, which was long in great repute, and was one of the works printed by Caxton in 1481. See Æsop's *Fables* ed. Caxton, 3. 20, 5. 9, and a discussion of the whole subject, *Traeger der Thierfabel*, introduction to Grimm's *Reinhart Fuchs*, p. xliii. *et seqq.*

40 20. *But princes*, etc. Cf. note 34 8 and 70 25.

40 21. *A Sejanus to be near about them.* The folio reads *him* for *them* in this clause and in the following.

40 21. *Sejanus, Ælius.* An instrument of the tyranny of Tiberius, over whom he appears to have exercised a strange fascination. He was, however, finally overmatched by the superior duplicity of Tiberius, and put to death A.D. 31. See Jonson's play on this subject, *Sejanus, his Fall.*

40 22. *Affect to get above him.* Aspire to get above him. Cf. "Affect his subjects'," 41 29.

40 30. *Illiteratus princeps.* The unlettered prince.

41 12. *Character principis.* The characteristics of a prince.

41 16. *A prince is the pastor*, etc. Referable to the adage: Boni pastoris est, tondere pecus, non deglubere (Erasmus, *Adagiorum Opus*, chil. 3, cent. 7. 12).

41 18. *Fells.* Skins, generally with the hair on.

41 22. *Hated that gardener*, etc. This anecdote is related by Erasmus under the adage given at 41 16.

41 29. *Keep his own, not affect his subjects'; i.e.* not aspire to his subjects' possessions. Cf. 40 22.

41 31. *Affect the surnames that grow by human slaughters.* As Africanus, applied to the Scipiones; Asiaticus, to a third Scipio, and to some of the Valerii; Macedonicus, the surname of Metellus; Gallaicus, that of Decimus Brutus; Balearicus, Allobrogicus, Numidicus, Atticus, and many others.

42 3. *Choose neither magistrate, civil or ecclesiastic, by favor.* Cf. James's own words on this subject, as reported by one of his courtiers: "The wisdom of a king is chiefly seen in the election of his officers, as in places which require a peculiar sufficiency, not to choose them that he affects most, but to use every one according to his proper fitness" (*Crumms fal'n from King James's Table*, Sir Thomas Overbury, p. 264).

42 4. *Disquisition.* Inquiry, investigation.

42 5. *By all sufferages; i.e.* by the suffrages of all, unanimous opinion.

42 5. *Sell no honors.* In this glowing picture of a true prince, Jonson could hardly have had in mind his royal patron James, whose incontinent creation of new peerages and dubbing of knights is a frequent subject of ridicule in the old dramas. Cf. Middleton, *The Phœnix*, 1. 6; ed. Bullen, i. p. 135: "Daughter, what gentleman might this be? No gentleman, sir; he's a knight. Is but a knight? Troth, I would a sworn had been a gentleman." In *The Alchemist*, 2. 2, Sir Epicure Mammon declares that for the excellent preparation of a feast, "I'll say unto my cook, There's gold, go forth, and be a knight." It is said that Jonson himself narrowly escaped the king's indiscriminate dubbing.

42 6. *And for reward.* As a reward.

42 6. *If he do, acknowledge it.* The passage is obscure, if not corrupt. I have preferred, however, to retain the reading of the folio. *If he do* evidently refers back to *sell honors*. The whole sense is probably somewhat thus: If he do sell honors, and give them hastily, acknowledge the fact, though late in doing so, and correct the abuse. It may be suggested that by supplying the word *not* after *if he do*, the clause may be referred logically to what immediately precedes; *e.g.* If he do not bestow honors with counsel and as a reward, acknowledge it and mend it.

42 17. *Attributes make a king akin to gods.* Cf. 4 15, and references there given.

42 18. *The Delphic sword, both to kill sacrifices and to chastise offenders.* This is referable to a Greek proverb for making one thing serve two purposes. See *Codex Coisliniano* (Proverb, 105), where the expression is referred to "the avarice of those who aim at making money out of everything, inasmuch as the Delphians took one pay for the victims and another for the use of the knife." Hesychius (*Lexicon*, p. 383) explains the allusion somewhat differently, as a knife made of two substances. Phavorinus, too, explains (p. 465. 23) that "the Delphic knife (named from its make) has the front part (blade?) iron." Cf. Aristotle (*Politics*, 1. 2) "Nature does nothing meanly, like artists who make the Delphic swords; but she has one instrument for one end; for thus her instruments are most likely to be brought to perfection, being made to contribute to one end, and not to many." My colleague, Prof. William A. Lamberton, to whose kindness I am indebted for the above, considers that the proverb in this sense is due to a mis-

interpretation of the expression, *θανεῖν Δελφικῷ ξίφει*; *i.e.* to die by a Delphian hand (Euripides, *Orestes*, 1656). Cf. also Dryden's *The Hind and the Panther*, 1485–86:

> Your Delphic sword, the Panther then replied,
> Is double-edged, and cuts on either side.

and Erasmus, *Adagiorum Opus*, chil. 2, cent. 3. 69, where the whole subject is discussed.

42 20. *De gratiosis.* Of the favored. Note the balance of the whole passage.

42 26. *Divites.* The rich.

42 26. *He, which is sole heir.* Cf. 34 27.

42 28. *Diverse his kindred.* Note the order. See *Sh. Gram.* § 13, and cf. the frequent expression, "Good my lord," etc. (J. C. 2. 1. 255).

42 30. *Heirs ex asse.* Sole heirs. *Ex asse* means literally *from the unit*, the *as* being the unit of weight, measure, and value among the Romans.

42 34. *Fures publici.* Thieves of public money. Some of the greatest names of the age of Elizabeth and James justly fall under this head: Sir George Carey, Treasurer at War and later Lord Deputy of Ireland, who had amassed a large fortune and died respected in 1616, was a main instrument in the embezzlement of something like £180,000 (nearly $5,000,000, present value) of public money. In 1621 Bacon was convicted of taking bribes; in 1624 Cranfield was impeached for malversion; and Sir Thomas Gresham, the famous financier, grew into a great capitalist in the previous reign on a salary of 20*s.* a day and expenses, only extricating himself at last from an investigation, in which he was all but forced to disgorge, by a happy meeting with Her Majesty when in a giving mood. See Hubert Hall's *Society in the Elizabethan Age*, pp. 125, 128 *seqq.*; 58 *seqq.*

42 34. *Lightly.* Usually. Cf. Puttenham, *Art of English Poesie*, 2. 13: "But lightly they be iambics because the accent falls sharp," etc.

43 4. *Dat veniam corvis*, etc. He grants pardon to ravens, but visits the doves with severest censure; *i.e.* the innocent man meets with injustice, the guilty man escapes (Juvenal, *Sat.* 2. 63).

43 5. *Non rete accipitri*, etc. Nor fowling net is stretched for hawk or kite (Terence, *Phormio*, 2. 2. 16). Both passages are freely translated in the text. The marginal reference of the folio incorrectly ascribes this last quotation to Plautus.

43 8. *Huff.* Swagger, hector.

43 9. *Value.* Count.

43 10–13. *Lewis XI.* I have been unable to trace the original of this characteristic anecdote.

43 16. *De bonis et malis.* Of the good and the bad.

43 25. *Else I had never.* Note the sudden change to the first person and the autobiographical tenor of the whole. "No one will be surprised to find that Ben Jonson's chosen type or example of high-minded innocence, incessantly pursued by malice, delated, and defamed, but always triumphant and confident, even when driven to the verge of a precipice, is none other than Ben Jonson" (*A Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 157).

44 10. *Objected making of verses to me.* Cf. the general disrepute of poets, the subject of much complaint among the authors of the day. "I know very many notable gentleman in the court," says Puttenham, "that have written commendably, and suppressed it again, or else suffered it to be published without their own names to it: as if it were a discredit for a gentleman to seem learned, or to show himself amorous of any good art" (*The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Haselwood, p. 16); and cf. 12 4 and 22 19.

44 12. *Urge mine own writings against me.* A practice continued to the present day by those that consider Shakespeare capable of glorification in the belittling of Jonson. See, especially, Gifford's redoubtable defence of Jonson against Malone and other posthumous foes in the essay prefixed to Gifford's edition of Ben Jonson, entitled *Proofs of Ben Jonson's Malignity, from the Commentators on Shakespeare* (ed. Cunningham, i. pp. lxxxi.–xcix.).

44 16. *Defrauded of his beginning.* See *Sh. Gram.* § 228. "*Its* was not used originally in the *Authorized Version* of the Bible, and is said to have been rarely used in Shakespeare's time. *His* still represented the genitive of *it* as well as of *he*." *Its* is found in several places in Shakespeare (*e.g. Lear*, 4. 2. 32; *W. T.* 1. 2. 151. 152, and 266). Besides *his, it*, an early provincial genitive, is often used for *its*. Jonson uses all three forms. Cf. *The Silent Woman*, 2. 5, Folio ed. 1640, p. 479: "Your knighthood itself shall come on *its* knees." And a little below: "It shall fright all *it* friends, with borrowing letters." Cf. 20 6, 47 35, 76 1, and 83 29.

44 22. *Delicate.* Choice. Cf. 8 31.

44 24. *The great and monstrous wickednesses . . . the issue of the wealthy giants and mighty hunters.* Jonson may well have had in mind the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury by Somerset and Frances Howard, the chief scandal of the reign of James, and an imbroglio from which the king himself scarcely emerged with clean conscience.

See Green, *History of the English People*, iii. p. 87, and cf. *A Satyricall Shrub* and *A Little Shrub growing by*, in Jonson's *Underwoods*, Folio of 1640, p. 190. Jonson wrote an *Epithalamium* for the marriage of Lady Essex, and was intimate with Sir Thomas Overbury. See his *Epigram* to the latter, 113.

44 26. *Whereas no great work or worthy of praise.* Note the inversion.

44 28. *Poverty . . . invented arts*, etc. Cf. Theocritus, *Idyll*, 21. 1–3. Thus translated by Lang: "'Tis poverty alone, Deophantus, that awakens the arts, — poverty, the very teacher of labor."

44 33. *Amor nummi.* Love of money.

45 19. *Brought into a præmunire.* More properly *præmonere.* "A writ issued out of the King's Bench against one who hath procured any bull or like process of the pope from Rome or elsewhere, for any ecclesiastical place or preferment within the realm, or doth sue in any foreign ecclesiastical court to defeat or impeach any judgment given in the king's court" (Sir Thomas Ridley, *View of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Law*, Oxford, 1673, p. 153). To incur a *præmunire*, according to Stat. 16 Rich. II. c. 5, was to be out of the king's protection, to forfeit lands and goods, and to be imprisoned (Fuller's *Church History*, ed. 1845, pp. 368 and 373). Cf. "A man may forbear it [the use of certain abbreviations] without danger of falling into a *præmunire*" (*English Grammar*, Ben Jonson, 5).

45 19. *Begged.* Beggared.

45 22. *Stews.* Pools in which to preserve fish for the table, to be drawn and filled again at pleasure (Halliwell).

45 24. *Tissues.* See 21 8.

45 29. *Have not I seen . . . vanish all away in a day.* The text of the folio, evidently corrupt, reads as follows: Have not I seen the pomp of a whole kingdom, and what a foreign king could bring hither. Also to make himself gazed and wondered at, laid forth, etc. Mr. Swinburne amends: "What a foreign king could bring hither? All to make himself," etc. The reading which I propose has the advantage of involving no more than a change in the punctuation. With these reflections, which, as Mr. Swinburne says, "are uncourtly enough from the hands of a courtly poet" cf. Jonson's masque, *The Entertainment of the Two Kings of Great Britain and Denmark*, at Theobalds, July 24, 1606, in which the three Hours, Law, Justice, and Peace, addressed the potentates as follows:

> Enter, O longed-for Princes, bless these bowers!
> And us, the three, by you made happy Hours;

> We that include all time, yet never knew
> Minute like this, or object like to you,
> Two kings, the world's prime honors, whose access
> Shows either's greatness, yet makes neither less:
> Vouchsafe your thousand welcomes in this shower,
> The maker vows, not Sybil's leaves were truer.

On this occasion "the carousals at the palace were carried to a most extravagant hight," says Drake (*Shakespeare and his Times*, ii. p. 124); and he quotes at length an amusing, if disgusting, account by Sir John Harington (*Nugæ Antiquæ*, i. 349–352) of the spoiling of a masque by the intoxication of its noble presenters and royal listeners; *e.g.* "Now did appear, in rich dress, Hope, Faith, and Charity. Hope did assay to speak; but wine rendered her endeavors so feeble that she withdrew, and hoped the king would excuse her brevity. Faith was then all alone, for I am certain she was not joined with good works, and left the court in a staggering condition. Charity came to the king's feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins her sisters had committed, etc. . . . Victory did not triumph long, for after much lamentable utterance, she was led away like a silly captive, and laid to sleep in the outer steps of the ante-chamber. . . . I ne'er did see such lack of good order, discretion, and sobriety, as I have now done."

46 6. *De mollibus et effœminatis.* Of effeminate weakenings.

46 10. *Morphew.* A leprous eruption.

46 11. *Gumming and bridling beards.* Cf. 24 33 and *1 Henry IV.* 2. 2. 1: "I have removed Falstaff's horse, and he frets like *gummed* velvet." Explained by R. G. White: "Velvet that was dressed with gum in the manufacture fretted out by reason of its stiffness." Gumming is hence stiffening with pomatum; bridling, curbing, trimming.

46 14. *Pickedness.* Niceness, affectation.

46 21. *Where.* Whereas.

46 29. *De stultitia.* Of folly.

46 30. *Fairing.* A trifle purchased at a fair. Cf. *Bartholomew Fair*, 5. 3, where the overgrown boy, Cokes, in his delight with the actors in a puppet-play, exclaims: "I am in love with the actors already. . . . Hero shall be my fairing. But which of my fairings? Le' me see, i' faith, my fiddle! and Leander, my fiddle-stick; then Damon, my drum, etc.; and Pythias, my pipe, and the ghost of Dionysus, my hobby-horse."

46 35. *Lath and lime, perhaps loam.* Harrison (*Description of England*, ed. Camelot, p. 114) gives this contemporary evidence on this subject: "The clay wherewith our houses are impanelled is either

white, red, or blue; and of these the first doth participate very much of the nature of our chalk; the second is called loam; but the third eftsoons changeth color as soon as it is wrought. . . . In plastering of our fairest houses over our heads, we use to lay first a line or two of white mortar, tempered with hair upon laths, which are nailed one by another, or sometimes upon reed of wicker," etc. Cf. *Richard II.* 1. 1. 179:

> Men are but gilded loam or painted clay.

47 2. *Cozen.* Deceive. The folio reads *cousen.* Cf. 6 8.

47 12. *De sibi molestis.* Of those a trouble to themselves.

47 16. *Their own misery and others' envy.* "The envy they bear towards others," explains Mr. Swinburne, "an equivocal, awkward, and affected Latinism." The critic adds: Jonson "would not — he never would — remember that a phrase or a construction which makes very good Latin may make very bad English" (*A Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 163).

47 26. *Periculosa melancholia.* A hazardous disease. Cf. the use of the word *melancholy* by Robert Burton in the *Anatomy of Melancholy.*

47 30. *Gladded.* Gladdened.

47 35. *It is offended with his own narrowness.* Cf. 20 6, 44 16, 76 1, 83 29.

48 4. *Falsæ species fugiendæ.* Even the appearance of evil should be avoided.

48 14. *Decipimur specie* [*recti*]. We are deceived by appearance of truth (Horace, *de Arte Poetica*, 25). Jonson translates: "With likeness of the truth undone."

48 28. *Dejectio auli*[*corum*]. Courtiers' despondency.

48 32. *Than* [*their*] *pride.* The emendation of Mr. Swinburne.

49 3. *Poetry was a speaking picture*, etc. A common saying among the Greeks, and attributed by Plutarch to Simonides: "Πλήν ὁ Σιμωνίδης τὴν μεν ζωγραφίαν ποίησιν σιωπῶσαν προσαγορεύει, τὴν δὲ ποίησιν ζωγραφίαν λαλοῦσαν" (*de Gloria Atheniensium*, 3). There are several other references to the saying in Plutarch and Pseudo-Plutarch. See especially *Moralia, de Audiendis Poetis*, 3, which is thus translated by Goodwin, 2. 49: "And we shall fix our young man yet the more if, when we enter him in the poets, we first describe poetry to him, and tell him that it is an imitating art, and doth in many respects correspond to painting (ὅτι μιμητικὴ τέχνη καὶ δύναμίς ἐστιν ἀντίστροφος τῇ ζωγραφίᾳ), not only acquainting him with the common saying that poetry is vocal painting, and painting, silent poetry, but," etc. Lessing,

the founder of modern æsthetics, was far from accepting this maxim. Cf. the Preface to his *Laocoön:* "The dazzling antithesis of the Greek Voltaire, that painting is a dumb poetry, and poetry articulate painting, was contained in no text-book. It was one of those fancies, so frequent in Simonides, the truer part of which is so obvious, that we feel compelled to overlook its accompanying inexactness and falsity." There are many allusions to this apothegm among Elizabethan authors. Cf. John Davies of Hereford, *Microcosmos, The Discovery of the Little World with the Government thereof,* 1603, p. 215.

49 15. *De pictura.* On painting.

49 30. *Zeuxis of Heracleia* excelled all contemporary painters except Parrhasius. He flourished about 424 B.C., living chiefly at Athens, the court of Archelaus of Macedon, and in Magna Græcia. *Parrhasius of Ephesus* flourished about 400 B.C., and practised his art chiefly at Athens. See Pliny, *Natural History,* 35. 36.

49 31. *The first found out the reason of lights.* Cf. Quorum prior luminum umbrarumque invenisse rationem, secundus examinasse subtilius lineas traditur, etc. (Quintilian, *Inst.* 12. 10. 4).

50 2. *Regulus's writing.* Regulus, a professional informer and pettifogging lawyer, wrote a eulogy on his dead son, and had it widely circulated. Of this effort Pliny says (*Epistle,* 4. 7): "It was so absurd that it was capable of extorting laughter rather than groans. You would believe it written by a boy, not of a boy (credas non de puero scriptum sed a puero)."

50 5. *Occupy, vature.* Cf. *Inst.* 8. 3. 44. Whalley also refers to *2 Henry IV.* 2. 4. 134.

50 8. *De progress*[*ione*] *picturæ.* Of the advancement of the art of painting. The marginal reference of the folio, Plin[ius] lib[er] 35 c[aput], 2. 5. 6, and 7, is general. The chapters appear to be given inaccurately, however, as Pliny's account of the painting and sculpture of the Greeks is contained between 34 (8) and 46 (12).

50 14. *Eupompus* of Sicyon, a distinguished Greek painter, contemporary with Zeuxis and Parrhasius, was the founder of the third school of Greek art. See Pliny, *Natural History,* 35. 36.

50 16. *Optics.* Perspective.

50 19. *Recession.* The folio reads *recessor,* for which I read *recession,* the analogous English form for the Latin *recessus,* a going backward, here used to denote background or the appearance of an object extending backward. Cf. Cicero, *de Oratore,* 3. 26: "Habeat illa in dicendo admiratio ac summa laus umbram aliquam et *recessum,* quo magis id, quod erit illuminatum, exstare atque eminere videatur." Thus

translated: "These strokes [*i.e.* the expressions, 'very well,' 'excellent,' etc.] so much admired in speaking; and this consummate praise should have some kind of recess or shade, that the parts in the stronger light may seem to project and be more eminently conspicuous." *Recession* in the sense withdrawal is used by Jeremy Taylor (*Works*, ed. 1835, I. 73).

50 27. *Where he complains of their painting chimæras.* Cf. Vitruvius, *de Architectura*, 7, 5: "But these subjects, which our forefathers copied from nature, are now, by our depraved manners, disapproved; for monsters rather than the resemblances of natural objects are painted on the stucco; reeds are substituted for columns, etc. . . . So also the flowers from stalks have half-figures springing therefrom, with heads, some like those of men, some like those of beasts, which things neither are nor can be, nor ever were; and this new mode so prevails that those who are not judges disregard the arts." The marginal reference of the folio, li[ber] 8 et 7, is inaccurate.

50 31. *Which Horace so laughed at.* See the first lines of the *Ars Poetica*.

50 34. *Socrates taught Parrhasius and Clito . . . first to express manners.* This passage is referable to Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, 3. 10. 1 *seqq.*, in which are detailed conversations of Socrates with Parrhasius on modes of expression in painting, with Clito, as to the expression of passion in sculpture. Pausanias (1. 22. 8) tells us: "They say that Socrates made Graces" (a group of clothed Graces in the Acropolis); and further identifies the philosopher by adding: "The man who by the priestess of Delphi was adjudged the wisest of men." Pliny, however, does not regard this as the philosopher (*Natural History*, 36. 4). Of the sculptor Clito, Schneider says: "Hunc plane ignoramus hodie," we know nothing about him to-day.

50 35. *Statuaries.* Sculptors.

51 1–2. *Polygnotus.* An artist of Thasos, contemporary with Socrates. His subjects were chiefly from Homer, and Aristotle says that he painted men more beautiful than they are (*Poetica*, 2). *Aglaophon* was his father and teacher in art. See Pliny, *Natural History*, 35. 36, and *Inst.* 12. 10. 3.

51 7–9. For an account of these great masters of Italian art, all of whom flourished in the last quarter of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century, see Kugler's *Handbook of Painting, The Italian School*, Part II. *passim*. "The greatness of Raphael," says Sir Charles Eastlake (*ibid.* p. 328), "compared with other artists, is not so much in kind as in degree. No master has left so many really

excellent works as he whose days were so early numbered." Michael Angelo "was the great archetype," says Sir Joshua Reynolds (*Discourses* XV. ii. p. 147), "from whom all his contemporaries and successors have derived whatever they have possessed of the dignified and majestic. . . . Under his hands [painting] is become another and a superior art." Titian or Tiziano Vecellio was the greatest of the Venetian School, which was noted for power in color. Antonio Allegri, surnamed Correggio, is technically the great master of *Chiaroscuro*. See Fuseli, *Lecture on Chiaroscuro*. *Fra Sebastiano del Piombo* was the most important scholar of Giorgione; *Julio Romano*, the most celebrated scholar of Raphael; and *Andrea Vanucchi*, commonly called *Andrea del Sarto*, is popularly distinguished as "the faultless painter." As to the last, see Mr. Browning's well-known poem, *Men and Women*, p. 184. The folio reads Sartorio.

51 10. *Parasiti ad mensam, immo serviles.* Parasites at table, nay, slaves. Mr. Swinburne calls attention to the fact that this essay has been improperly split into two.

51 11. *Oraculous.* Oracular. The Elizabethans were fond of this termination. Cf. *robustiously*, 22 32; *scabrous*, 61 29; *tumorous*, 65 6.

51 14. *In what they offer at.* Cf. 18 2, 18 16, 23 15, 28 2, 39 25, 43 23.

51 29. *If a man be asked a question to answer; i.e.* it is not enough to answer, but to repeat the question, etc. The whole passage is difficult, if not corrupt, as the construction is not sustained.

52 5. *Simulties.* Private quarrels.

52 13. *Sufficient.* Able.

52 27. *Your lordship.* Possibly William Cavendish, Earl, later Duke of Newcastle, a warm friend and benefactor of Jonson in his later years and "himself a dramatic poet." Cf. Ward, *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Lit.* i. p. 533. The Duchess of this Duke of Newcastle, the centre of a later literary circle, wrote that her husband had reported that "he never heard any man read well but Ben Jonson" (*Letters*, folio 1664, p. 362).

53 1. *They will seem . . . syllables.* Cf. Quintilian, *de Institutione Oratoria*, I. I. 21, of which the passage is a translation: Parva docemus, instituendum oratorem professi: sed est sua etiam studiis infantia: et, ut corporum mox etiam fortissimorum educatio a lacte cunisque intium ducit; ita futurus eloquentissimus edidit aliquando vagitum, et loqui primum incerta voce tentavit, et hæsit circa formas literarum.

53 6. *Apting.* Fitting. Note the freedom of the translation of the last phrase.

53 7. *In their education*, etc. Cf. Tradito sibi puero, docendi peritus ingenium ejus in primis naturamque perspiciat (*Inst.* 1. 3. 1).

53 14. *School.* A kind of play. Cf. *ibid.* 1. 1. 20: Lusus hic sit; et rogetur, et laudetur, etc.

53 15. *They should not be affrighted.* (*Ibid.*): Nam id in primis cavere oportebit ne studia, qui amare nondum potest, oderit, et amaritudinem semel perceptam etiam ultra rudes annos reformidet.

53 22. *The best school*, etc. Cf. Goodwin's *Enquiry into Public and Private Education, Enquirer*, vii. pp. 56–64, and Quintilian, *Inst.* 1. 2. 1: Hoc igitur potissimum loco tractanda quæstio est, utiliusne sit domi atque intra privatos parietes studentem continere, an frequentiæ scholarum et velut publicis præceptoribus tradere, etc.

53 25. *They are more in danger in your own family.* Cf. *ibid.* 1. 2. 4, *et seqq.*, where the subject is treated more at length.

53 28. *Would we did not spoil our own children.* The Latin runs: Utinam liberorum nostrorum mores non ipsi perderemus, etc. (*ibid.* 1. 2. 6).

53 30. *To breed them*, etc. Cf. Lumen tamen illud conventus honestissimi, tenebras ac solitudini prætulissem (*ibid.* 1. 2. 9; and see 1. 2. 18–21, where the subject is further expanded).

54 1. *They hear*, etc. Cf. Audiet multa quodtidie probari, multa corrigi. . . . Accendunt omnia hæc animos (*ibid.* 1. 2. 21, and 22).

54 4. *Eloquence would be but a poor thing.* Quintilian writes: Non esset in rebus humanis eloquentia, si tantum cum singulis loqueremur (*ibid.* 1. 2. 31).

54 5. *Singulars.* Individuals.

54 10. *Ambition.* Cf. Et licet ipsa vitium sit ambitio, frequenter tamen causa virtutum est (*ibid.* 1. 2. 22).

54 11. *Give me that wit.* The Latin runs: Mihi ille detur puer, quem laus excitet, quem gloria juvet, qui victus fleat, hic erit alendus ambitu, hunc mordebit objurgatio, hunc honor excitabit; in hoc desidiam nunquam verebor (*ibid.* 1. 3. 7). *Wit*, as usual, quality of mind. Cf. 8 22.

54 15. *Given to play* (*ibid.* 1. 3. 8, *et seqq.*)

54 17. *From the rod.* Cf. Cædi vero discentes, quanquam et receptum sit et Chrysippus not improbet, minime velim. Primum, quia deforme atque servile est, et certe, quod convenit si ætatem mutes injuria, etc. (*ibid.* 1. 3. 14).

In short, the bulk of this paragraph is a literal translation of the earlier portions of Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory*, incomplete alone in its lack of reference. This and the many other like instances in the

Discoveries need, however, raise no presumption of plagiarism (see *Introduction* as to this point). In the light of this restoration of a fine passage to its original owner, Mr. Swinburne's remarks become positively entertaining: "If the nineteenth century has said anything on this subject as well worth hearing — as wise, as humane, as reasonable, as full of sympathy and of judgment — as these *reflections and animadversions of a scholar living in the first half or quarter of the seventeenth*, I have never chanced to meet with it" (*A Study of Ben Jonson*, pp. 167–168). It is but fair to Mr. Swinburne to add that he does mention Quintilian on the preceding page as holding views similar to those of Jonson as to discipline, although he is certainly unaware that he is praising the very words of the celebrated subject of Domitian, not that of James I.

54 19. *De stilo, et optimo scribendi genere.* Of style, and the best sort of writing. From this point to the conclusion of the *Discoveries*, we have a continuous essay on style, although broken and defective in parts. With the paragraph in general, cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* 10. 3, *passim.*

54 22. *What ought to be written and after what manner.* Cf. Sed cum sit duplex quæstio, quomodo, et quæ maxime scribi oporteat, etc. (*ibid.* 10. 3. 4).

54 23. *He must first think*, etc. Cf. Sit primo vel tardus, dum diligens, stilus, etc. (*ibid.* 10. 3. 5–7). The literal translation continues even to the illustrations of the javelin hurler, the leaper, and the "veering out of sail" (danda sunt vela). The tenor of the rest of the paragraph will be found in this chapter, at 2. 8. 1, *et seqq.*, and elsewhere in the *Institutes*, although the precise words are not always susceptible of identification.

54 25. *Either.* Each.

54 27. *And to do this; i.e.* take care in the placing and ranking of words, etc.

54 30. *Forward conceits.* First notions. Cf. 31 28, 67 15, 68 2, 71 18, and 71 29.

54 33. *Which beside that it helps.* Garnett notes the omission of the predicate of *which*, the subject being repeated in *it*, below; *i.e. it quickens*, etc.

55 13. *Obtain.* Attain, reach by endeavor. Cf. "I would obtain to be thought not so inferior" (*Areopagitica*, Clarendon Press, p. 4).

55 23. *Whither a man's genius*, etc. I have adopted Mr. Swinburne's punctuation. *Whether* for *whither* is almost constant in the folio. As to the entire passage, cf. *Inst.* 2. 8. 1, *et seqq.*, and 2. 8. 6–

10, wherein it will be seen that Jonson and Quintilian are not wholly agreed.

55 31. *The mind and memory are more sharply exercised in comprehending another man's things* (*ibid.* 2. 7. 2; and cf. 10. 2, *passim*).

56 9. *Præcipiendi modi.* Modes of teaching.

56 18. *Election.* Selection. Cf. 26 32.

56 21. *But arts and precepts avail nothing.* Cf. Illud tamen in primis testandum est, nihil præcepta atque artes valere, nisi adjuvante natura. Quapropter ei cui deerit ingenium, non magis hæc scripta sunt, quam de agrorum cultu sterilibus terris (*Inst. Proœm.* 26).

56 31. *The remedy for fruitfulness*, etc. Cf. Facile remedium est ubertatis: sterilia nullo labore vincuntur, etc. (*Inst.* 2. 4. 6; *ibid.* 11 and 10).

57 10. *Tinct.* Cf. 57 32.

57 16. *Read the best authors. Inst.* 2. 5. 19. Note Jonson's advocacy of the reading of English authors.

57 17. *Livy before Sallust.* T. Livius (59 B.C.–17 A.D.). C. Sallustius Crispus (86–34 B.C.). "The style of Livy is lively, elegant, and adapted to every situation with unerring tact. His extensive talent of historical description and his warm sympathy make him as great a historical writer as he is insignificant as a historical critic. Sallust, on the other hand, like his model Thucydides, endeavors to be brief, sententious, and concise, even so as to become obscure and contorted. There is in him an abundance of reflection and a certain indifference to facts when compared with their psychological interest" (Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature*, §§ 252 and 204).

57 17. *Sidney before Donne.* For Sidney, see 30 31. Jonson's *Conversations with Drummond* contain several references to Donne of varying nature. In one place Jonson declares that "Donne, for not keeping of accent, deserved hanging" (p. 3); in another, that "Donne himself, for not being understood, would perish" (p. 15). On the other hand, in his commentary on Horace's *Ars Poetica*, "writ dialogue wayes," which was unfortunately lost in the burning of his library, Jonson introduced Donne as Criticus (p. 29); and, in a passage, frequently quoted, says that he esteems Donne "the first poet in the world in some things" (p. 8). Jonson addressed two epigrams to Donne, the latter returning the compliment in Latin as well as English (Gifford, ciii.).

Dr. John Donne (1573–1631) has been very variously estimated, but few have questioned his genius. With Jonson himself, he forms the chief literary influence of his day, an influence that transferred the

conceits of the later euphuism — to use the term in its normal, ungermanized sense — to verse, and led the way to that later school of poets, which Dr. Johnson, not so very unwisely, called the Metaphysical School.

57 18. *Gower* (1330–1408). Rev. Stopford Brooke speaks thus of John Gower: "He belongs to a school older than Chaucer, inasmuch as he is scarcely touched by the Italian, but chiefly by the French influence. . . . As he grew older he grew graver; and partly as the religious and social reformer, and partly as the story-teller, he fills up the literary transition between Langland and Chaucer" (*Primer of English Literature*, p. 41).

57 19. *Too much in love with antiquity*, etc. Cf. Duo autem genera maxime cavenda pueris puto: Unum, ne quis eos antiquitatis nimius admirator, in Gracchorum, Catonisque, et aliorum similium lectione durescere velit: etc. . . . Alterum, quod huic diversum est, ne recentis hujus lasciviæ flosculis capti, voluptate quadam prava deliniantur, ut prædulce illud genus, et puerilibus ingeniis hoc gratius, quo propius est, adament (*Inst.* 2. 5. 21 and 22).

57 19. *Chaucer, Geoffrey* (1328–1400). "Here was a healthy and hearty man," says Mr. Lowell, "so genuine that he need not ask whether he was genuine or no, so sincere as quite to forget his own sincerity, so truly pious that he could be happy in the best world that God chose to make, so humane that he loved even the foibles of his kind. Here was a truly epic poet, without knowing it, who did not waste time in considering whether his age were good or bad, but, quietly taking it for granted as the best that ever was or ever could be for *him*, has left us such a picture of contemporary life as no man ever painted" (*My Study Windows*, Chaucer, Camelot ed. p. 207).

57 26. *Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language.* Spenser's affectation of archaic words is likewise criticised by his friend Sidney: "*The Shepherd's Calendar* hath much poetry in his eclogues, indeed worthy the reading, if I be not deceived. That same framing of his style to an old rustic language, I dare not allow, since neither Theocritus in Greek, Virgil in Latin, or Sanazzaro in Italian did affect it" (*Defense of Poesie*, ed. Cook, p. 47).

57 27. *As Virgil read Ennius.* Virgil and Ennius stood in much the relation of Spenser and Chaucer as to their use of language; and the analogy is increased by both Virgil's and Spenser's affectation of archaic diction. Quintus Ennius (between 239–169 B.C.), though of humble birth, lived on terms of intimacy with the elder Scipio Africanus. The Romans united in honoring Ennius as the father of their poetry.

His most important work was a history of Rome in hexameters. Cf. Quintilian's estimate of Ennius (*Inst.* 10. 1. 88).

57 28. *The reading of Homer and Virgil.* The whole passage is culled literally from Quintilian (*Inst.* 1. 8. 5–9).

57 29. *Quintilian.* M. Fabius Quintilianus, the most celebrated of Roman rhetoricians (40–118 A.D.). Drummond has recorded that "Jonson recommended my reading Quintilian, who, he said, would tell me the faults of my verses as if he lived with me" (*Conversations*, Jonson, ed. Cunningham, iii. p. 470).

57 32. *Is tincted.* Stained, dyed. Cf. 57 10 and

> And there I see such black and grained spots
> As will not leave their tinct (*Hamlet*, 3. 4. 90).

57 35. *In the Greek poets as also in Plautus*, etc. "In his preference of Plautus to Terence," says Mr. Swinburne, "it may be said that Ben Jonson anticipated the verdict of two such very different great men as Jonathan Swift and Victor Hugo" (*A Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 171).

T. Maccius Plautus (254–184 B.C.) is pre-eminently the typical comic poet of Rome. But twenty of his one hundred and thirty plays are extant. P. Terentius Afer (195–159 B.C.) was of Carthaginian birth. Six comedies are all that remain to us. Like Plautus, his work is wholly based on Greek originals, amongst whom Menander, chief of the new comedy, is the most important. See Teuffel, *Hist. of Roman Lit.* §§ 87 and 100 for a comparison of the two.

58 6. *Fals*[*a*] *querel*[*a*] *fugiend*[*a*]. Groundless complaint should be avoided.

58 6. *We should not protect our sloth.* Cf. Difficultatis patrocinia prætexemus segnitiæ (*Inst.* 1. 12. 16).

58 7. *It is a false quarrel.* The passage in Quintilian, here somewhat mutilated, reads thus: "Falsa enim est querela, paucissimis hominibus vim percipiendi, quæ tradantur, esse concessam, plerosque vero laborem ac tempora tarditate ingenii perdere. Nam contra, plures reperias et faciles in excogitando, et discendum promtos. Quippe id est homini naturale: ac sicut aves ad volatum, equi ad cursum, ad sævitiam feræ gignuntur: ita nobis propria est mentis agitatio atque sollertia: unde origo animi cœlestis creditur. Hebetes vero et indociles non magis secundum naturam homines eduntur, quam prodigiosa corpora, et monstris insignia: sed hi pauci admodum" (*Inst.* 1. 1. 1 and 2). Cf. a similar passage at the beginning of Sallust's *Jugurtha*. It will be noticed that Jonson has considerably disarranged the clauses, omitting a part of the illustration and condensing the last sentence.

58 18. *Plato was not content*, etc. (*Inst.* 1. 12. 15). After the condemnation of Socrates (399 B.C.), Plato went to the house of Euclid in Megara, whence he is said to have undertaken a long journey, in the course of which he visited Cyrene and Egypt, and perhaps Asia Minor. Later, when some forty years of age, he visited the Pythagoreans in Italy, and went to Sicily thereafter. Cicero is our chief authority for Plato's journey to Egypt, which, says Cicero, "he undertook for the purpose of obtaining instruction from the priests in mathematics and astronomy." See Cicero, *de Fin.* 5. 29, and Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, i. 98.

58 23. *Many things may be learned together.* The subject of the *Institutes*, 1. 12. 1 and 3. The translation is quite literal, even to the illustration of the musician.

58 27. *Election.* Selection. Cf. 26 32, 56 18. The Latin is *electio verborum.*

58 30. *Diverse studies. Inst.* 1. 12. 4.

59 9. *Præcept*[*a*] *element*[*aria*]. Elementary rules.

59 12. *Anxieties and foolish cavils of the grammarians.* Cf. 10 5 and Overbury's *Characters, a Pedant:* "He trades in a rule; and one hand scans verses, and the other holds his scepter. He dares not think a thought that the nominative case governs not the verb; and he never had meaning in his life, for he travelled only for words. . . . He values phrases, and elects them by sound; and the eight parts of speech are his servants" (*Characters*, p. 69).

59 14. *Elementarii senes.* Old men at their A, B, C's, still at the rudiments. Cf. Seneca, *Epistolæ*, 36 (Morell, i. p. 129): "It is a mean and scandalous thing to see an old man at his A, B, C's. It is for young men to learn, and old men to make right use of what they have learned." Jonson uses the expression elsewhere: "This would ask a larger time and field than is here given for the examination; but since I am assigned to this province, that it is the lot of my age, after thirty years' conversation with men, to be *elementarius senex*, I will promise and obtain so much of myself as to give in the heel of the book some spur and incitement to that which I so reasonably seek" (*The English Grammar*, c. 6).

59 16. *Talking and eloquence are not the same.* Cf. Antonius . . . ait a se disertos visos esse multos, eloquentem autem neminem (*Inst.* 8, *Pro.* 13).

59 24. *Doubtful.* Ambiguous.

59 25. *A poet is said that he ought*, etc. In modern idiom: The reason it is said that a poet ought, etc. The passage is awkward, if not corrupt.

59 33. *De orationis dignitate.* Of the dignity of speech.

60 1. *Mercury deorum hominumque interpres.* Cf. Interpres divum, applied to Mercury by Virgil (*Æneid*, 4. 356 and 377).

60 7. Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία. The circle of general education (*Inst.* 1. 10. 1).

60 7. *Words.* The folio has the following marginal references: Of words, see Hor[atius] *de Art*[*e*] *Poetic*[*a*]; Quintil[ianus], l[iber] 8; Ludov[ico] Vives [*de Ratione studii puerilis*, *Epistola* 1, editio 1555], pp. 6 and 7. These later contain an account of words, speech, and accents. Ludovico Vives (1492–1540) was a Spanish scholar of note, friend of Erasmus and tutor to the Princess Mary.

60 9. *Verborum delectus*, etc. Choice of words is the beginning of eloquence. Julius Cæsar as quoted by Cicero (*Brutus*, 72).

60 10. *To be chose.* Chosen.

60 10. *Chose according to the persons we make speak.* Cf. *Ars Poetica*, 112.

60 16. *Translation.* Here, use of rhetorical figure. Latin *translatio*, quæ μεταφορὰ Græce vocatur (Quintilian, *Inst.* 8. 6. 4).

60 17. *Nam temere nihil*, etc. A wise man uses no metaphors at random. "Every metaphor should occupy a space otherwise empty, or at least fill it better than the word it excludes." (*Ibid.*)

60 19. *Want a word to express by; i.e.* express a thought by.

60 21. *Commodity.* Convenience, fitness.

60 23. *Far-fet.* Far-fetched, the usual Elizabethan form.

60 24. *Hinder to be understood.* Prevent our understanding (being understood). See *Sh. Gram.* §§ 355 and 356; and cf. 82 33.

60 25. *Translations.* See 60 16.

60 27. *Ordinary.* A public dining-table at a tavern, where each person pays his share, a *table d'hôte*, as they now use the expression.

60 34. *Castratam morte Africani*, etc. The first and second of these illustrations of unbecoming metaphors are from Cicero, *de Oratore*, 3. 41. 164. The third is ascribed to Furius Bibaculus. All three were derived by Jonson from a passage of Quintilian (*Inst.* 8. 6. 15 and 17). Cf. Horace's parody of the last (*Sat.* 2. 5. 41):

Furius hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpes;

a parallel of this passage in *Henry V.* 3. 5. 52, and an interesting note thereon in *Modern Language Notes*, April, 1891.

61 1. *Attempts that are new. Ars Poetica*, 46, *et seqq.*

61 9. *Perspicuitas.* Perspicuity; *venustas*, comeliness; *autoritas*, authority are here the three marginal notes of the folio.

61 11. *Be too frequent with the mint.* Resort to the mint too frequently.

61 13. *The chief virtue of a style*, etc. Quintilian, *Inst.* 2. 3. 8: Prima est eloquentiæ virtus, perspicuitas.

61 28. *Aquai and pictai.* Cf. *Æneid*, 7. 464; 9. 26; and *aulai*, 3. 354. The primitive termination of the genitive singular was *aï*, continued in use among the poets as an archaism. See *Inst.* 8. 3. 25.

61 29. *Lucretius.* See below, 74 14. Of Lucretius, Teuffel says, "His style is unequal, and frequently awkward; his diction trenchant, bold, and of a harshness which possesses a peculiar attraction" (*Hist. of Roman Literature*, § 201). *Scabrous.* Harsh, rough.

61 30. *As some do Chaucerisms with us.* See Jonson's animadversions on Spenser, 57 26.

61 33. *As we gather flowers to straw houses.* This pleasing custom is thus noticed by Dr. Levinus Lemmius, a German traveller in England in 1560: "The neat cleanliness and exquisite fineness, the pleasant and delightful furniture in every point for household, wonderfully rejoiced me; their chambers and parlors strawed over with sweet herbs refreshed me; their nosegays, finely intermingled with sundry sorts of fragrant flowers, in their bed-chambers and privy rooms, with comfortable smell, cheered me up, and delighted all my senses" (*The Touchstone of Complexions*, folio 47, quoted in Harrison's *Description of England*, Appendix II. p. lxiv. *New Sh. Soc. Pub.* 1877).

62 2. *Paronomasies.* Puns, παρονομασία. The folio incorrectly reads *Paranomasia.*

62 4. *Quæ per salebras*, etc. See 24 26 and 87 22.

62 17. *Profits.* Here in the sense *is of value.*

62 22. *Tacitus, the Laconic, Suetonius, Seneca, and Fabianus.* These words occur in the folio only on the margin. It will be noticed that each is the exponent of the corresponding style mentioned in the text: Tacitus "of the brief"; the Laconic, for that "which expresseth not enough"; whilst Suetonius represents "the abrupt"; Seneca, "the congruent"; and Fabianus, "the harmonious."

C. Cornelius Tacitus flourished about 61–120 A.D. His style is "vigorous and pregnant with meaning; labored, but elaborated with art, and stripped of every superfluity." Jonson, like Bacon, was a close student of Tacitus. See especially the elaborate notes to *Sejanus.*

C. Suetonius Tranquillus (about 75–160 A.D.) is chiefly remembered for his *Lives of the Emperors*, from Cæsar to Domitian. His style is simple and concise, but monotonous. See Teuffel, ii. pp. 211–216.

L. Annæus Seneca flourished about 1–65 A.D. See below, 70 21.

The style of Seneca was that of a rhetorician, in which brilliancy was put above accuracy.

Fabianus Papirius, a rhetorician, contemporary with the elder Seneca. The younger Seneca declares that as to style Fabianus was surpassed only by Cicero, Pollio, and Livy.

62 31. *Periodi*, sentences, is the marginal note of the folio.

62 35. *The reader's or hearer's want of understanding.* Mr. Swinburne calls attention to Dr. Johnson's remark: "I have found you a reason, sir; I am not bound to find you an understanding."

63 6. *Rectitudo lucem adfert*, etc. Directness sheds light; ambiguity and circumlocution obscure.

63 10. *Obscuritas offundit tenebras.* Freely, obscurity of phrase spreads darkness of meaning. The subject is discussed by Quintilian (*Inst.* 4. 2, *passim*).

63 13. *Like the pearl in the fable. Phædrus*, 3. 12, and the first Fable of Æsop, as printed by Caxton, 1484. See Mr. Jacob's Reprint, 1889, ii. p. 4, and his synopsis of parallels (*ibid.* p. 230).

63 17. *Superlation.* Latin *superlatio*, exaggeration, hyperbole, the marginal note of the folio.

63 21. *Fremit oceanus*, etc. The ocean rages as if it were angry that thou shouldst leave the land (M. Seneca, *Suasoria*, 1. 11). For Cestius, see 22 2.

63 23. *Credas innare*, etc. Virgil, *Æneid*, 8. 691, the line reads:

pelago credas innare revulsas
Cyclades

You would think that the Cyclades plucked up were swimming in the sea. Quintilian uses this quotation as an illustration of hyperbole (*Inst.* 8. 6. 68).

63 29. *Eos esse Populi Romani*, etc. A reminiscence of the following: "In quo vos victores existimabatis? An, me deleto, non animum advertebatis, decem habere legiones Populum Romanum, quæ non solum vobis obsistere, sed etiam cœlum diruere possent?" (*de Bello Hispaniensi*, 42).

64 12. *Commodity.* Convenience.

64 15. *Oratio imago animi.* Speech is the image of the mind. Cf. *Inst.* 2. 10. 12: Declamatio judiciorum consiliorumque imago.

64 18. *The parent of it.* In avoidance of *its parent.* Cf. 44 15.

64 33. *Well-torned.* Jonson's usual form. Cf. 76 22.

In his well-torned and true-filed lines
(*To the Memory of Shakespeare*).

65 6. *Tumorous.* Tumid.

65 10. *Flat cap, trunk hose,* etc. A costume indicative of the citizen or man of ordinary station. Howe says that in the times of Mary and Elizabeth, "apprentices wore flat caps, and others under threescore years of age, as well journeymen as masters." See Gifford's note, *Every Man in his Humor,* 2. 1:

> Flat caps as proper are to city gowns
> As to armor, helmets, or to kings their crowns.

See also *Amends for Ladies,* Dodsley, xi. p. 152, note. *Trunk hose* were wide breeches, at first covering only the thighs, later extending below the knee (Halliwell, *Dict.* etc. p. 892). Cf. *Father Hubbard's Tale,* Bullen's ed. of Middleton, vol. viii.: "His breeches, a wonder to see, were full as deep as the middle of winter or the roadway between London and Winchester, and so long and wide withal, that I think within a twelvemonth he might very well put all his lands in them." References to this absurd fashion are innumerable. See especially Stubbes, *Anatomy of Abuse, New Sh. Soc.,* and notes thereto. The *hobby-horse cloak* was a long cloak, probably so called from the fact that it concealed the lower limbs, like the long piece of cloth which dangled about the ankles of the rider of the hobby horse, or St. George in the old antics of the Morris dance. See Douce's *Illustrations of Shakespeare,* ii. 463, where "the quadrupedal defects of the hobby horse" are described as "concealed by a long mantle or footcloth that nearly touched the ground."

65 12. *Velvet gown, furred with sables.* The rich and dignified costume of age and station. Cf. *Hamlet,* 4. 7. 81: "For youth no less becomes the light and careless livery that it wears than settled age his sables and his weeds." A gown, furred with sables, was the most costly article of male attire.

65 19. *Cutis sive cortex,* etc. This extended comparison of the various styles in writing to the stature and dimensions of the human body may be referred in general to Quintilian, Cicero, and other Roman rhetoricians; *e.g.* Quintilian (*Inst.* 10. 2. 15) speaks of the skin (*cutis*) of eloquence: "Thus your arguments will be more forcible and assume more comeliness, if they show not limbs meagre and destitute, as it were, of flesh" (*non nudos et velut carne spoliatos artus ostenderint, ibid.* 5. 12. 6). And again: "Such poor naked arts . . . break and shatter all that is generous in a discourse, dry up all the sap of the genius, and leave it like a skeleton body with naked bones. Undoubtedly bones are necessary, but they should adhere to each other by

their respective ligaments, and be covered with muscular flesh" (*ibid. Proœm.* 24).

65 33. *Redundat sanguine*, etc. It abounds in blood, by which far more is said than is needful. Cf. *Inst.* 10. 1. 60, where the style of a poet is said to be *plurimum sanguinis atque nervorum.*

66 9. *Ossa habent, et nervos.* They have bones and sinews.

66 10. *Notæ domini S[anc]t[i] Albani de doctrin[æ] intemper-[antia]*. Observations of the Viscount St. Albans on the extravagances of learning.

66 12. *The study of words.* Cf. *The Advancement of Learning:* "Here, therefore, is the first distemper of learning, when men study words, and not matter; whereof though I have represented an example of late times, yet it hath been and will be *secundum majus et minus* in all time. And how is it possible but this should have an operation to discredit learning, even with the vulgar capacities, when they see learned men's works like the first letter of a patent or limned book, which, though it hath large flourishes, yet it is but a letter. . . . The second, which followeth, is in nature worse than the former; for as substance of matter is better than beauty of words, so, contrariwise, vain matter is worse than vain words. . . . For the third vice or disease of learning, which concerneth deceit or untruth, it is of all the rest the foulest; as that which doth destroy the essential form of knowledge, which is nothing but a representation of the truth; for the truth of being and the truth of knowing are one, differing no more than the direct beam and the beam reflected" (Bacon's *Works*, ed. 1819, i. pp. 28–31).

66 17. *Make an author a dictator.* Cf. Bacon's words: "And as for the overmuch credit that hath been given unto authors in sciences, in making them dictators, that their words should stand, and not consuls to give advice; the damage is infinite that sciences have received thereby, as the principal cause that hath kept them low, at a stay, without growth or advancement. . . . Although the position be good, *oportet discentem credere*, yet it must be coupled with this, *oportet edoctum judicare;* for disciples do owe unto masters only a temporary belief and a suspension of their own judgment till they be fully instructed, and not an absolute resignation or perpetual captivity" (*ibid.* i. p. 34). And cf. 7 16.

66 30. *Errors have intervened.* Cf. 4 15, and references there.

66 35. *Digladiations.* Literally, fights with a sword, sharp contests. Cf. "They [the schoolmen] see such digladiations about subtilties and no matters of use" (*Advancement of Learning*, i. p. 46).

67 12. *De optimo scriptore.* Of the best writer.

67 15. *Conceits.* Cf. 31 28, 54 30, 68 2, 71 29.

67 22. *Dicere recte*, etc. He alone can speak properly that apprehends intelligently (Cicero, *Brutus*, 6. 23).

67 32. *Elocution.* Cf. 27 20, 34 31.

68 2. *Conceit.* Cf. 31 28, 54 30, 67 15, 71 29.

68 14. *De stilo epistolari.* Of epistolary style.

68 30. *When . . . then.* Note the formality of the correlatives, and cf. 38 35.

69 6. *Whom you write to.* Cf. 18 2, 23 15, and references there.

69 7. *Give the cue.* The folio reads *Q.* The same word as *queue*, the tail or last words of a previous speech.

69 20. *So as.* So that. Cf. 3 5, and references there.

69 24. *Cense.* Worth, estimation. The same word as *census.* Cf. "She [*i.e.* Rome] had five hundred thousand free citizens in a famous *cense* that was made" (Howell's *Familiar Epistles*, 1650, ed. Stott, i. p. 122). Morley reads *sense.*

69 25. *Set a task to his brain.* Cf. 4 4, and references there given.

69 26. *Venter.* Venture.

69 31. *Submiss.* Submissive, humble.

70 3. *Breviates.* Summaries, epitomes.

70 4. *Riotous and wastingly.* Cf. 15 16 and 17 15.

70 13. *There is a briefness of parts . . . with my lord.* Quintilian, *Inst.* 4. 2. 41: Solet enim esse quædam partium brevitas, quæ longam tamen efficit summam. In portum veni, navim prospexi, quanti veheret interrogavi, de pretio convenit, conscendi, sublatæ sunt ancoræ, solvimus oram, profecti sumus. Nihil horum dici celerius potest, sed sufficit dicere, E portu navigavi.

70 19. *Latin writers within the last hundred years.* In allusion to the learned men of the two preceding generations, such as Scaliger, Heinsius, Erasmus, Vives, Lipsius, and others.

70 21. *Seneca.* Cf. 62 22.

70 21. *Appeached.* Accused, informed against. Cf. *All's Well*, 1. 3. 197.

70 23. *Oftentimes* [*lost*]. Mr. Swinburne's emendation.

70 25. *Few words, they darken speech.* Cf. 34 8.

70 34. *Censure.* Cf. 81 8, 81 16.

71 7. *Mind it.* Ponder it, think it out.

71 14. *A diligent kind of negligence.* Cf. Jonson's song in *The Silent Woman*, 1. 1:

Give me a look, give me a face,
That makes simplicity a grace;
Robes loosely flowing, hair as free:
Such sweet delight more taketh me,
Than all the adulteries of art;
They strike mine eye, but not my heart.

And see Herrick's *Upon Julia's Cloths* and *Art above Nature* (Palgrave's ed. pp. 88 and 90), in the latter of which Jonson's thought is reversed.

71 18. *Conceit.* 31 28, 54 30, 67 15, 68 2, 71 29.

71 23. *In hazard to be.* Of being. Cf. 73 14.

71 24. *Cast a ring for the perfumed terms of the time.* Conjure up. Probably in reference to the astrological meaning of *cast; e.g.* to cast a nativity.

71 29. *Conceits, allusions . . . in the Courtier and the second book of Cicero de Oratore.* Jonson refers to a popular collection of the day, the title of which ran thus: *The English Courtier and the Country gentleman, a pleasant and learned disputation between them both, very profitable and necessarie to be read of all nobilitie and gentlemen,* 1586 (Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 126). In the second book of his treatise (*de Oratore*, 60–71, inclusive) Cicero tells a vast number of anecdotes, witty retorts, etc.

72 10. *Eloquence.* In the broad sense of the term, rhetoric. Cf. 54 4.

72 10. *Charact.* Distinctive mark. Cf. *Measure for Measure*, 5. 1, 56: "Even so may Angelo in all his dressings, characts, titles, forms, be an arch-villain."

72 13. *The professor's estimation; i.e.* the estimation in which the professors of poetry are held. A Latinism very common in Elizabethan writing.

72 17. *Placentia College.* Cf. the Ladies Collegiate of *The Silent Women.*

72 21. *Ubi generalis*, etc. Where there is a general discussion of faults, there is no wrong to any individual. The folio refers this passage to St. Jerome.

72 27. *Auriculas teneras*, etc. Grate tender ears with biting truth (Persius, *Satires*, 1. 107), where the order is somewhat different:

Sed quid opus teneras mordaci radere vero
Auriculas.

It may be noted that the folio reads *rodere*, a variant not noticed by editors of Persius.

72 28. *Remedii votum*, etc. When remedy is in question, hopes are always more vivid than expectations. A marginal note of the folio refers this to Livy.

73 2. *Like affected as a woman.* *Sexus fœmin*[*arum*], the female sex, is the marginal note of the folio.

73 3. *Ill of their sex.* Cf. the following from Selden's *Table Talk* (ed. 1860, p. 268) with this passage: "Men are not troubled to hear a man dispraised, because they know though he be naught, there's worth in others; but women are mightily troubled to hear any of them spoken against, as if the sex itself were guilty of some unworthiness."

73 3. *Presently.* Cf. 7 31, 18 27, 83 7.

73 4. *Respected their particular.* Referred to them especially.

73 11. *Ingenuously.* The folio reads *ingeniously.*

73 14. *Leave to be such.* Cf. 71 23.

73 18. *As.* That. Cf. 13 22, and references there.

73 18. *Several.* Cf. 7 26.

73 27. κατ' ἐξοχήν, ὁ ποιητής. *Par excellence*, a poet.

73 28. *Maker.* Poet. Cf. 75 22 and 77 13. See Whalley's note on this word, which appears inaccurate in its reference to Scaliger (*Poetices*, 1. 1).

73 35. *Fable.* The Latin *fabula.* The plot or connected series of events in an epic or dramatic poem. Cf. Aristotle, *Poetica*, 6: "A fable is an imitation of action, for I mean by a fable (μῦθος) here the composition of incidents."

74 3. *One alone verse.* A single verse.

74 6. *Æneas hæc de Danais victoribus arma* (*Æneid*, 3. 288). Thus translated by Connington:

> Æneas fixes on these doors
> Arms won from Danaan conquerors.

74 9. *Omnia, Castor*, etc. (Martial, *Epig.* 7. 98). Literally: Castor is buying everything: it may so happen that he will have to sell everything. The spirit of Martial, however, is often best rendered in paraphrase:

> Why, Tom, you purchase everything! 'tis well:
> Who can deny you'll have the more to sell (Hodgson).

74 11. *Pauper videri*, etc. (*ibid.* 8. 19). Literally: Cinna wishes to appear poor, and is poor. More freely:

> Hal says he's poor, in hope you'll say he's not;
> But take his word for't; Hal's not worth a groat (Graves).

Jonson quotes Martial several times in the *Discoveries*. Cf. 15 26, 21 27, 24 26, 62 4, 87 22. He has elsewhere translated several of the epigrams. See Jonson's *Works*, ed. Cunningham, iii. p. 388. M. Valerius Martialis flourished under Titus and Domitian. He left nothing but epigrams.

74 13. *Designs*. Designates a whole book by the word *carmen*.

74 14. *Quod in primo quoque carmine claret* (*de Rerum Natura*, 6. 937), which is set forth in the first part of my poem. T. Lucretius Carus (about 98–55 B.C.), in his didactic poem, *de Rerum Natura*, in six books, treated of physics, psychology, and Epicurean ethics in imitation of Empedocles and Ennius. See above, 61 29.

74 21–27. *Poesis, artium regina*. Poetry, the queen of arts, the marginal note of the folio. Cf. Sidney's *Defense of Poesie*, ed. Cook, p. 26: "As virtue is the most excellent resting-place for all worldly learning to make his end of, so poetry being the most familiar to teach it, and most princely to move towards it, in the most excellent work is the most excellent workman."

74 31. *Civility*. Civilization. Culture, at 80 31.

74 31. *The study of it*, etc. The folio refers this to Aristotle.

75 2. [*Poetry*] *nourisheth and instructeth our youth*. The passage is a literal translation from Cicero's oration, *pro Archia Poeta*, 7: "Hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant," etc.

75 9. *Philosophy . . . a rigid and austere poesy*. See several like passages in Sidney's *Defense of Poesie*, ed. Cook, 3 16, 13 6–26: "The philosopher showeth you the way, he informeth you of the particularities, as well of the tediousness of the way, as of the pleasant lodging you shall have when your journey is ended, as of the many by-turnings that may divert you from your way; but this is to no man but to him that will read him, and read him with attentive studious painfulness. . . . [But the poet] doth not only show the way, but giveth so sweet a prospect into the way as will entice any man to enter into it. Nay, he doth, as if your journey should lie through a fair vineyard, at the very first give you a cluster of grapes, that full of that taste you may long to pass further" (pp. 22–23).

75 22. The folio has the marginal note, *Poet*[*æ*] *differentiæ*, the distinguishing differences of the poet.

75 27–33. *Aliquando secundum Anacreontem*, etc. The whole passage will be found in Seneca, *de Tranquillitate Animi*, 15. Thus translated by Lodge: "For if we give credit to the Greek poet: It's sometimes pleasure to be mad and foolish. Or Plato, He that is in his right wits loseth his labor to go and knock at the gate of the Muses. Or Aristotle, There was never any great wit that had not some spice of

folly; if the mind be not stirred, and, as it were, mounted above it self, he can speak nothing highly, nor above others" (ed. 1620, p. 655). It may be noticed that Jonson supplies the name *Anacreon* for the first quotation, and in that assigned to Plato reads *pulsavit*, the frequentative, for *pepulit* of the original. There are several passages in *Anacreon* to which this sentiment may be referred; *e.g.*:

ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ Ἀναίου
καὶ τοῦ μύρου κορεσθεὶς
καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἑταίρης,
θέλω, θέλω μανῆναι (*Carmen*, 13. 9);

whilst the passages referring to Plato and Aristotle are probably the following: "All good poets, epic as well as lyric, compose their beautiful poems, not as works of art, but because they are inspired or possessed, and as the Corybantean revellers . . . are not in their right mind. . . . The poet is a light and winged and holy thing, and there is no invention in him until he has been inspired, and is out of his senses" (*Ion*, Jowett's Plato, i. p. 223). "Those are naturally most adapted to persuade who are themselves under the influence of passion. Hence also, he agitates others who is himself agitated, and he excites others to anger who is himself most truly enraged. Hence poetry is the province of one who is naturally clever, or of one who is insane" (*Poetica*, 17).

76 1. *His rider*. Cf. 20 7, 44 16, 47 35, 83 29, 85 5.

76 1. *Whither*. The folio reads *whether* here, as in most cases.

76 3. *Helicon, Pegasus, or Parnassus*. Helicon, a range of mountains in Bœotia, sacred to Apollo and the Muses, and the source of the celebrated fountains of the Muses, Aganippe and Hippocrene. Pegasus, the proverbial steed of the poets, so celebrated chiefly, however, in modern times, as his only ancient connection with the Muses appears to have been the stroke of his hoof, by which the inspiring fountain, Hippocrene, was made to gush forth. Parnassus, the highest portion of a range of mountains, not far north of Delphi, the chief seat of Apollo and the Muses.

76 5. *Est deus in nobis*, etc. There is a deity within us, by whose moving we are warmed; from the abode of æther this spirit comes. These two lines are a combination of two passages in Ovid, which run thus:

Est deus in nobis: agitante calescimus illo:
Impetus hic sacræ semina mentis habet (*Fasti*, 6. 5)

and:

Est deus in nobis; et sunt commercia cœli
Sedibus ætheriis spiritus ille venit (*Ars Amatoria*, 3. 549).

With this entire passage, compare the following extract from a letter of James Howell to Jonson, dated Westminster, 27 June, 1629: "Father Ben, — *Nullum fit magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiæ:* there's no great wit without some mixture of madness; so saith the philosopher. Nor was he a fool who answered, *Nec parvum sine mixtura stultitiæ:* nor small wit without some allay of foolishness. Touching the first, it is verified in you, for I find that you have been oftentimes mad; you were mad when you writ your *Fox*, and madder when you writ your *Alchemist;* you were mad when you writ *Catiline*, and stark mad when you writ *Sejanus;* but when you writ your *Epigrams* and *The Magnetic Lady*, you were not so mad: insomuch that I perceive there be degrees of madness in you. The madness I mean is that divine fury, that heating and heightening spirit which Ovid speaks of:

Est deus in nobis, agitante calesimus illo:

that true enthusiasm which transports and elevates the souls of poets above the middle region of vulgar conceptions, and makes them soar up to heaven to touch the stars with their laurelled heads, to walk in the zodiac with Apollo himself, and command Mercury upon their errands" (*Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ*, ed. Stott, ii. p. 138).

This point of contact raises the question, Was Jonson's note a reminiscence of Howell's letter, or Howell's letter the result of a perusal of Jonson's note or of a conversation with Jonson on the topic? I think that the first supposition may be dismissed as highly improbable. Jonson's was the stronger mind, and the whole tone of the letter is that of friendly *badinage* in continuance of a topic already discussed. As to the question of date, see *Introduction*.

76 7. *Scio poetam neminem*, etc. I know there has never been a great poet without a richer share than common of the divine inspiration (Lipsius, *Electorum Liber*, 75; *Opera Omnia*, ed. 1629, i. p. 326). Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) was a renowned Flemish scholar. See also Cicero, *de Oratore*, 2. 46, of which the passage is probably a reminiscence.

76 10. *Mediocres* or *imos*. The ordinary or inferior.

76 11. *Mayor*. The folio reads *major*. The words are the same. See Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary*, *sub voce*.

76 12. *Solus rex, aut poeta*, etc. A king alone, or a poet, is not born every year. *Petron*[*ii*] *in Fragm*[*enta*] is the marginal note of

the folio. I do not find the quotation in the *Fragments* or in the *Satyricon*. Cf. with this sentiment the opening lines of Jonson's *Epigram*, 79, addressed to Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, daughter of Sir Philip Sidney:

> That poets are far rarer births than kings
> Your noblest father proved.

and also the epilogue of *The New Inn*:

> A king's or poet's birth doth ask an age.

76 20. *If then it succeed not, cast not away the quills.* A literal translation of Quintilian (*Inst.* 10. 3. 21); and see *Persius* 1. 106.

76 22. *Torn it anew.* Cf. 64 33.

76 24. *Or* [query? *in*] *the first quarter; i.e.* immediately. Cf. what follows. The passage is probably corrupt.

76 28. *A rimer and a poet are two things.* Cf. Sidney's *Defense of Poesie*, ed. Cook, p. 11: "It is not riming and versing that maketh a poet, . . . although, indeed, the senate of poets hath chosen verse as their fittest raiment." Also Shelley's *Defense of Poetry*: "An observation of the regular mode of the recurrence of harmony in the language of poetical minds, together with its relation to music, produced metre, or a certain system of traditional forms of harmony and language. Yet it is by no means essential that a poet should accommodate his language to this traditional form, so that the harmony, which is its spirit, be observed. The practice is, indeed, convenient and popular; . . . but every great poet must inevitably innovate upon the example of his predecessors in the exact structure of his peculiar versification. The distinction between poets and prose writers is a vulgar error" (*Prose Works*, ed. Shepherd, ii. p. 7).

76 29. *Virgil . . . that he brought forth his verses.* Dr. O. Seidensticker, my colleague, refers me to the *Vita incerto auctore*, usually prefixed to the works of Virgil. The passage runs thus: "Quum Georgica scriberet, traditur quotidie meditatos mane plurimos versus dictare solitus, ac per totum diem retractando ad paucissimos redigere: non absurde, carmen se ursæ more parere dicens, et lambendo demum effingere" (ed. Delphini, i. p. 11). See also *Inst.* 10. 3. 8, where Varus is made the authority for a similar remark.

76 33. *Euripides and Alcestis.* Valerius Maximus, an anecdotist of the time of Tiberius (3. 7, *Extr.* 1, *Externa*), where it is told substantially as Jonson tells it.

77 16. *Very he.* Cf. 34 27.

77 20. *Concoct.* Digest.

77 21. *Not to imitate servilely* (*Ars Poetica*, 133).

77 26. *How Virgil and Statius have imitated Homer.* The fact that Virgil imitated Homer is too well known to call for comment here. Statius based his whole art on the imitation of Virgil, like many other later Roman poets. See Crutnell's *Hist. of Roman Lit.* p. 275.

77 27. *Archilochus, Alcæus, and other lyrics; i.e.* lyrists. Archilochus was an early Ionic lyrist, who flourished about 700 B.C. "All antiquity agreed," says Mr. Symonds, "in naming him second only to Homer" (*Greek Poets*, p. 105). Alcæus of Mitylene flourished about a century later, and was almost as highly esteemed. The fact that Horace imitated these poets, especially in metrical form, is one of the commonplaces of classical literary history.

77 30. *Reading . . . maketh a full man.* In allusion to Bacon's well-known apothegm: "Reading maketh a full man; conference, a ready man; and writing, an exact man" (*Essays, of Studies*, ed. Golden Treasury, p. 205). See also the note, p. 341.

78 2. *More to his making than so; i.e.* than that. See *Sh. Gram.* § 63.

78 5. *Ars coron*[*at opus*]. Art crowns the work.

78 9. *If to an excellent nature*, etc. Cicero's *pro Archia Poeta*, 7.

78 12. *Stobæus, οὔτε φύσις*, etc. Translated in the text. Joannes Stobæus is little more than a name, and even the age in which he lived cannot be fixed with any degree of accuracy. We are indebted to him, however, for a large portion of the fragments that remain of the lost Greek poets. Simylus was an Athenian comic poet of the middle comedy, who was alive in B.C. 354. The quotation here given will be found in the Tauchnitz ed., 1838, of the *Florilegium*, ii. p. 351, and there reads thus:

> οὔτε φύσις ἱκανὴ γίγνεται τέχνης ἄτερ
> πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐπιτήδευμα παράπαν οὐδενὶ,
> οὔτε πάλι τέχνη μὴ φύσιν κεκτημένη.

78 17. *A fool to his master.* Cf. 4 4, 13 17, 38 10, 69 26.

78 20. *Horace and him that taught him, Aristotle.* In allusion to the *Ars Poetica* and Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*.

78 22. *The first accurate critic.* This glowing tribute is certainly justified by its subject. But that Jonson was none the less sane in his adoration, see above, 66 16. Dr. Draper, after dwelling upon the importance of Alexander's assistance to Aristotle, not only in furnishing him time and material for research, but in maintaining for him an organized corps of assistants, concludes: "Aristotle . . . rose from

particulars to universals, advancing to them by inductions; and his system, thus an inductive philosophy, was in reality the true beginning of science" (*The Intellectual Development of Europe*, i. pp. 173–176).

78 26. *Offices.* Latin *officium.* Duties, obligations.

79 2. *Virorum schola respub*[*lica*]. The state is the school of men.

79 10. *Lysippus . . . Apelles.* The former a famous sculptor, the latter the most distinguished of Greek painters, both spent much of their lives at the courts of Philip and Alexander. Alexander published an edict, forbidding any one to paint him except Apelles, or any one to model him except Lysippus (Horace, *Epistles*, 2. 1. 239 *seqq.*).

79 11. *As the comedy.* Compared with what the comedy, etc.

79 13. *There shall the spectator see.* Cf. 13 30 and 29 11.

79 13. *Insulting.* Nares explains insultation as "insulting exultation." Cf. "He looks upon his enemy's dead body with a kind of heaviness, not insultation" (Overbury's *Characters*, *A Worthy Commander in the Warres*, ed. London, 1856, p. 107).

79 20. *Immortales mortales*, etc. This epitaph was composed by Cnæus Nævius on himself, and is preserved by Gellius (*Noctes Atticæ*, 1. 24), where it occurs in a slightly different form, thus:

> Mortalis immortalis flere si foret fas:
> Flerent divæ Camœnæ Nævium Poetam;
> Itaque postquam est Orcino traditus thesauro,
> Oblitei sunt Romæ loquier Latina lingua.

Thus translated

> Were it right that immortals should sorrow for mortals,
> The Muses would weep for the poet here dead;
> Since Nævius passed through the Stygian portals,
> From Romans the use of good Latin is fled.

79 25. *Musas se Latine*, etc. Cf. *Inst.* 10. 1. 99, where the quotation appears in a slightly different form. Varro agrees with Ælius Stilo in saying that if the Muses were to speak Latin, they would speak in the language of Plautus. Stilo, so called from his style, was a Roman knight of the generation preceding Cicero, one of whose teachers he was. See Suetonius, *de Illustr. Gram. sub voce.*

79 26. *That illustrious judgment by . . . Marcus Varro of him; i.e.* of Plautus. See Varro, *Fragmenta*, ed. Scaliger, p. 80, quoted also by Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* 1. 24. 2, and ascribed by him to the first book of a treatise *de Poetis.* The epigram runs thus:

> Postquam morte datu'st Plautus, comœdia luget;
> Scena est deserta: dein Risus, Ludu' Jocusque,
> Et numeri innumeri simul omnes collacrymarunt.

which may be thus rendered: Since Plautus is dead, comedy languishes; the stage is deserted; from him came sport, laughter, and jest, and verses without number unite in lamenting him. M. Terentius Varro was a friend and contemporary of Cicero, and known as the most learned of the Romans. Gellius declares that he wrote four hundred and ninety books (*ibid.* 3. 10).

79 30. *I am not of that opinion to conclude a poet's liberty.* This affirmation of the freedom of art from all restraints of the critics is as admirable as it is unexpected at the hands of Jonson. Cf. Victor Hugo's Introduction to the first edition of *Hernani*.

79 30. *Conclude.* Include, bound, or limit.

79 34. *None more perfect than Sophocles.* "Ancient and modern critics have agreed to place Sophocles first among the Attic tragedians. Though an inferior poet to Æschylus and an inferior philosopher to either [Æschylus or Euripides], Sophocles must be regarded a more perfect artist" (Mahaffy, *History of Greek Literature*, i. p. 317). Sophocles lived between 495 and 406 B.C.

79 34. *Perfect.* Perfectly.

80 2. *Demosthenes* (382?–322). Greatest of the Greek orators. The erroneous idea that Demosthenes grew up neglected is derived from Plutarch (*Demosthenes*, 4).

80 3. *Pericles whom the age named heavenly* (d. 429 B.C.). Cf. Plutarch, *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 33: Περικλέα δε, τὸν καὶ Ὀλύμπιον προσαγορευθέντα, etc. Pericles, who was surnamed Olympius, for his wisdom and the strength of his eloquence.

80 5. *Alcibiades* (450–404 B.C.). In his youth Alcibiades was a pupil of Socrates, and was noted for his quick parts and personal beauty. He represented the worst effects of the forces which ended in the complete disintegration of Greek life.

80 13. *Many things in Euripides hath Aristophanes wittily reprehended.* See especially the *Acharnians* and the *Thesmophoriazusæ*. Professor Mahaffy says on this subject: "Of course his ridicule of Euripides was most unsparing and most unjust; but the latter was no mere innovator in tragedy, he was also an opponent on social and political questions. There is no greater proof of the real greatness of Euripides than that his popularity combated and overcame the most splendid comic genius set in array against it during the period of its development." (*Hist. of Greek Lit.*, i. p. 465.) For a modern state-

ment of the question between the two great Athenians, see Browning's *Aristophanes's Apology*.

80 14. *Euripides is sometimes peccant.* Few poets have received more varied estimation than Euripides (485–406 B.C.). By some he is regarded as the early herald of the wider and loftier dramatic forms of Shakespeare; by others, with contempt and hatred as the innovator that destroyed the stately structure of Greek tragedy. Mr. Swinburne remarks on this passage: "It is unlucky that Ben Jonson should have committed himself to the assertion that Euripides, of all men, 'is sometimes peccant, as he is most times perfect.'" See, however, Mr. Swinburne's enthusiastic, if unconscious, praise of a passage of the *Phœnissæ*, translated by Jonson, 4 15.

80 19. *Nemo infelicius*, etc. No one has judged of poets so unhappily as he who wrote of poets. The marginal reference of the folio, p. 129, is: Cens[ura] Scal[igeri] in Lil[ium] Gram[maticum]. I read *Gram.* for *Germ.* of the folio, a reading borne out by the text. The opinion of Scaliger upon Lily the grammarian. William Lily (1468–1523) was a noted English scholar, whose work, *Brevissima Institutio seu Ratio Grammatices Cognoscendæ*, was published in 1513. See Scaliger's strictures on the grammarians in general, *de Causis Linguæ Latinæ*, i. 1.

80 21. *Critics are a kind of tinkers.* The marginal note of the folio, Senec[a] *de Brev*[*itate*] *Vit*[*æ*], Cap. 13 et *Epist*[*olæ*] 88, refers to the following. Thus translated by Thomas Lodge, Jonson's contemporary (ed. 1620, p. 687): "As for them that spend their days in unprofitable studies, no man doubts, but that with much ado, they do nothing, of which sort there are many now amongst us Romans. It was the Grecian's old disease to beat their brains in finding out how many rowers Ulysses's ship had." Seneca's *Epistle*, 88, is an expression of the theme, "Liberal studies are not amongst good things, neither do they of themselves lead to virtue." Cf. Lodge's translation, *ibid.* p. 362.

80 24. *The meddling with.* Cf. 18 16, 23 15, 28 2, 39 25, 43 23.

80 27. *Syllable.* The folio reads *syllabe*, the usual Elizabethan form. Cf. Jonson's *English Grammar*, chap. 6.

80 31. *Civility.* Culture, civilization. Cf. 74 31.

81 1. *Cato the Grammarian, a defender of Lucilius.* Cf. the spurious lines prefixed to Horace's *Sat.* 1. 10. Cato Valerius, poet and rhetorician, flourished in the last days of the Republic. He is supposed to have devoted much attention to the productions of Lucilius.

81 2. *Cato Grammaticus*, etc. This complimentary distich is quoted by Suetonius (*de Illustr. Gram.* 11), and is probably from the hand of

some admiring contemporary. It has been thus translated into English, scarcely below the original:

> Cato, the Latin Siren, grammar taught and verse,
> To form the poet skilled, and poetry rehearse.

81 4. *Quintiiian of the same heresy; i.e.* a defender of Lucilius. *But rejected.* Query? not considered a sufficient authority on this subject. See *Inst.* 10. 1. 94; thus translated: "The province of satire is wholly ours; and here Lucilius stands in the first rank, distinguished over all, so that his admirers prefer him, not only to all poets of the same kind, but to all poets whatever. But I differ from them as well as from Horace, who thought the style of Lucilius was muddy, and his sense redundant; for he had great erudition, with a wonderful deal of freedom, humor, and wit of the severest kind" (Guthrie). C. Lucilius (148–103 B.C.) was the founder of Roman satire. In the days of Quintilian the public was so much divided as to the merit of this satirist, that it is said men often came to blows on the subject. "Quintilian himself is said to have carried a cudgel under his robe to vindicate the honor of his favorite poet."

81 4. *Horace, his judgment of Chœrilus.* The folio has here the marginal reference, Heins[ius] *de Sat[yra Horatiana]*, with several citations of the pages of this work in an edition which I have not been able to obtain. The courtesy of Mr. C. T. Lewis of New York, however, enables me to give these references in Heinsius's edition of Horace, 1612. Heinsius's defence of Horace's judgment of Chœrilus, especially against Joseph Scaliger, will be found on pp. 167–169. Horace's own judgment will be found in the *Epistle* 2. 1. 233, *et seqq.*, where he tells us that Chœrilus was "a favorite of Alexander, who to his uncouth and ill-formed verses owed the many pieces he received of Philip's royal coin." It is not certain that Horace was not here guilty of a huge anachronism. See also *Ars Poetica*, 357, where Chœrilus is used as a synonym for a poet everywhere ridiculous and absurd.

81 6. *And of Laberius against Julius; i.e.* Horace's opinion of Laberius defended against the attacks of Julius Scaliger. This subject is discussed by Heinsius, *de Sat. Horat.* pp. 170–174. Decimus Laberius (107–43 B.C.) was a successful writer of mimes. Horace deprecates his work (*Sat.* 1. 10. 6).

81 7. *His opinion of Plautus* (*Epist.* 2. 1. 170, *et seqq.*): "See how Plautus supports the character of a lover under age, how that of a covetous father, how that of a cheating pimp." The folio refers to Heinsius in *Comm[entariis*, ed. 1612, p. 61], who interprets this

passage into a censure of Plautus. See also *Ars Poetica*, 270, where there can be no question as to Horace's "censure."

81 8. *Censure.* Cf. 32 34, 70 34, and 81 16.

81 19. *Manling.* Manikin, *i.e.* the poet Horace. This story is told by Suetonius in his life of Horace: "Among other drolleries he [Augustus] often called him . . . his charming little man, and loaded him from time to time with proofs of his munificence. . . . Augustus offered to appoint him his secretary," and, upon Horace's refusal, "exhibited neither the smallest displeasure, nor ceased to heap upon him tokens of his regard."

81 23. *Horace . . . Terence's comedies* (*Epistles*, 2. 1. 55): "As often as a debate arises whether this poet or the other be preferable; Pacuvius bears away the character of a learned, Accius, of a lofty writer; Afranius's gown is said to have fitted Menander; Plautus, to hurry after the pattern of the Sicilian Epicharmus; Cælius, to excel in gravity; Terence, in contrivance."

81 32. Διδάσκαλοι. A dramatic poet was called χοροῦ διδάσκαλος, teacher of the chorus, or simply teacher, because he himself superintended the rehearsals and taught the actors.

82 3. *The moving of laughter, a fault in comedy.* The source of this extraordinary statement is to be found in Aristotle, *Poetics*, 5, as proved by Jonson's almost literal translation of the latter portion of it. The passage is thus translated by Buckley (p. 415): "But comedy is, as we have said, an imitation, indeed, of bad characters, yet it does not imitate them according to every vice, but the ridiculous only. For the ridiculous is a certain error, and turpitude unattended with pain, and not destructive. Thus, for instance, a ridiculous face is something distorted and deformed without pain." There is a long note on this passage (which appears to have given the commentators some trouble) in Twining's translation of the *Poetics*, i. p. 320.

82 9. *Laughter unfitting a wise man.* Cf. *Defense of Poesie* (ed. Cook, p. 50): "But our comedians think there is no delight without laughter, which is very wrong; for though laughter may come with delight, yet cometh it not of delight," etc. And cf. *Hamlet*, 3. 2. 42–48. On this passage Mr. Swinburne remarks: "It is comically pathetic to find that the failure of Jonson's later comedies had led him to observe with the judicious Aristotle that 'the moving of laughter is a fault in comedy, a kind of turpitude,' etc. But this deplorable and degrading instinct of perverse humanity becomes irrepressible and irresistible in the reader who discovers in the author of *Bartholomew Fair* and *The Silent Woman* so delicate and sensitive a dislike of plebeian

horse-play and farcical scurrility that he cannot at any price abide the insolence and indecency of so vulgar a writer as Aristophanes" (*A Study of Ben Jonson*, p. 179).

82 10. *Plato to esteem of Homer as a sacrilegious person* (*The Republic*, 3; Jowett's *Plato*, ii. p. 212). The passage of Homer is *Iliad*, 1. 599.

Neither ought our guardians to be given to laughter. For a fit of laughter which has been indulged to excess almost always occasions an equally violent reaction.

That I believe.

Then persons of worth, even if only mortal, must not be represented as overcome by laughter, and still less must such a representation of the gods be allowed.

Still less of the gods, as you say, he replied.

Then we shall not suffer such expressions to be used about the gods as that in which Homer describes how:

Inextinguishable laughter arose among the blessed gods, when they saw Hephæstus bustling about the mansion.

On your views we must not admit them.

82 12. *To seem ridiculous*, etc. (*Ethics*, 4. 9).

82 23. *Who*. Whosoever.

82 25. *Aristophanes*, born about 444, died soon after 380. While all this is true of the great comic poet, no estimate that forgets that Aristophanes had a serious purpose does justice to this remarkable man. "The epithets," says Mr. J. A. Symonds (*The Greek Poets*, First Series, p. 287), "which continually rise to our lips in speaking of him — radiant, resplendent, swift, keen, changeful, flashing, magical — carry no real notion of the marvellous and subtle spirit that animates his comedy with life peculiar to itself."

82 26. *Outgone*. Surpassed.

82 33. *Like to see*. Like seeing. Cf. 60 24.

82 33. *From the engine*. This was the machine, or μηχανή, of the Greek stage. It "consisted of a sort of crane with a pulley attached, by which weights could be raised or lowered. It was placed in the left or western corner of the stage, up at the very top of the back-wall. It was used in case the character in a play had to appear or disappear in a supernatural manner" (Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, p. 189). Aristophanes used the μηχανή, by way of parody, in several of his plays, and with great effect; and it was from this that Socrates hung suspended in his basket in *The Clouds*, 217 *seqq*.

83 2. *Skip geometrically*. This passage occurs earlier in the same play (144, *et seqq*.).

83 3. *This was theatrical wit.* Cf. Dryden, *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (Arber's *English Garner*, iii. p. 553): "The το γελοῖον (facetious absurdities) of the old comedy, of which Aristophanes was chief, was not so much to imitate a man, as to make the people laugh at some odd conceit, which had commonly somewhat of unnatural or obscene in it. Thus when you see Socrates brought upon the stage, you are not to imagine him made ridiculous by the imitations of his actions; but rather, by making him perform something very unlike himself, something so childish and absurd, as, by comparing it with the gravity of Socrates, makes a ridiculous object for the spectators."

83 6. *Tasten.* Tasted.

83 7. *Presently.* Cf. 7 31, 18 27, 73 3.

83 12. *To the tumbril again.* The allusion is to Horace (*Ars Poetica*, 275, *et seqq.*), which Jonson translates thus:

> Thespis is said to be the first found out
> The tragedy, and carried it about,
> Till then unknown, in carts, wherein did ride
> Those that did sing and act: their faces dyed
> With lees of wine.

On this Donaldson writes: "The wagon of Thespis, of which Horace writes, must have arisen from some confusion between the ἐλεός, or stage for the actor, and the wagon of Susarion" (*Theatre of the Greeks*, ed. Bohn, p. 66).

83 18. *To the resolving.* In modern English, for the resolution of this.

83 29. *Action hath his largeness.* Cf. 20 7, 44 16, 47 35, 76 1, 85 5.

84 11. *What we understand by the whole.* Cf. Aristotle's *Poetica*, 7. What follows is little more than a free translation of Aristotle's passage. Jonson has, however, expanded and added to the illustrations.

84 16. *A lion is a perfect creature.* Cf. Aristotle (*ibid.*), who uses this illustration in the abstract, speaking of "a very large animal." He follows with mention of an animal ten thousand stadia in length, which Jonson makes concrete with the illustration of Tityus.

84 17. *Though it; i.e.* its magnitude.

84 18. *Rhinocerote.* This form is not given by Nares or Halliwell. Its formation, however, from the oblique cases of ῥινόκερως, is perfectly obvious.

84 26. *Tityus.* A giant, killed by Apollo, and cast into Tartarus. See *Odyssey*, 11. 576, and *Æneid*, 6. 595.

85 5. *His utmost bound.* See 83 29, and references there.

85 15. *That it exceed not the compass of one day.* Jonson's treat-

ment of the unities is consistent with his theories as far as the circumstances of his age would permit. Several of his plays, *The Alchemist* and *The Silent Woman* especially, are triumphs over the difficulties of time and place. See Sir Philip Sidney's strictures on the popular stage of his earlier day, and Professor Cook's notes thereon (*Defense of Poesie*, ed. Cook, pp. 47–52).

85 35. *The action of one man to be one.* Cf. Aristotle, *Poetica*, 8.

86 10. *How he fought with Achilles: Iliad*, 20. 404–409.

86 14. *Error.* In the Latin sense, wandering.

86 19. *The philosopher.* Aristotle.

86 20. *All the actions of Theseus . . . labors of Hercules.* Cf. *Poetica*, 8: "Hence all those poets appear to have erred who have written the *Heracleid* and *Theseid*, and such like poems. For they suppose that because Hercules was one person, it was fit that the fable should be one. Homer, however, as he excelled in other things, appears likewise to have seen clearly, whether from art or from nature, for in composing the *Odyssey*, he has not related everything which happened to Ulysses, etc.; . . . but he composed the *Odyssey*, as also his *Iliad*, upon one action."

86 22. *Hoarse Codrus.* Cf. Juvenal, *Satires*, 1. 2 and 3. 203: "Codrus was possibly merely a fictitious name under which the Roman poets were wont to ridicule the poetasters of their age."

86 31. *Sophocles, his Ajax.* Of this play Professor Mahaffy says: "The *Ajax* . . . stands, perhaps, more remote than any of Sophocles's works from modern notions. . . . There is no finer psychological picture than the awakening of Ajax from his rage, his deep despair, his firm resolve to endure life no longer, his harsh treatment of Tecmessa, and yet his deep love for her and his child" (*History of Greek Literature*, i. p. 306).

87 17. *Combat of Ajax with Hector* (*Iliad*, 7. 204, *et seqq.*).

87 19. After a reading of these later passages of the *Discoveries*, we may well agree with Professor A. W. Ward in his statement: "[Jonson's] veneration for Aristotle was no mere lip-service. He understood the definitions and rules of the *Poetics* better than those who were forever mumbling their dry bones in later periods of our dramatic literature" (*Engl. Dram. Lit.*, i. p. 596).

87 22. *Et, quæ per salebras*, etc. (Martial, *Epigrams*, 11. 90). It will be noted that aside from the adaptation to the context, by which *et* is read for *sed*, the first word, Jonson has omitted two lines between the first and his second, and inverted the second and third. The whole passage translated reads thus: "You approve of no verses that run

with a smooth cadence, but of those only that vault, as it were, over hills and crags; you read with ecstasy such words as *terrai frugiferai* (the fruit-producing earth), as well as all that Actius and Pacuvius have sputtered forth." Actius and Pacuvius were early and popular Roman playwrights. It is to be remarked that this final note, as Mr. Swinburne says, "seems tumbled in without reference to the context," and that the first line of this epigram of Martial is a favorite of the author, as he has quoted it twice before in the *Discoveries*. Cf. 24 26 and 62 4.

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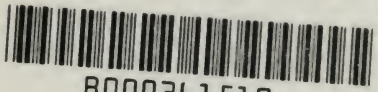

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